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Religion and Loyalty :

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Demonstration

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The { Power of the Christian Church with-
in it Self.
Supremacy of Sovereign Powers over
it.
Duty of Passive Obedience, or Non-
Resistance to all their Commands.

Exemplified

Out of the Records of the Church
and the Empire, from the Beginning
of Christianity to the End of the Reign
of J U L I A N.

By Samuel Parker D.D. Arch-Deacon of
C A N T E R B U R Y.

L O N D O N,
Printed for John Baker at the Three-Pigeons
in St. Paul's Church-yard, 1684.

A N
ADDRESS
TO HIS
MAJESTY
FROM THE
Primitive Church!

S I R,

THe whole Christian World being both
Alarm'd and Amazed at the late
Barbarous Conspiracy against the Sacred
Lives of Your Majesty, and Your Royal
Brother: And Your Majesty having upon
that Occasion been over-whelm'd with num-
berleß Addresses and Protestations of Loy-
alty from Your dutiful Subjects of the
Church of England: I thought it not im-
proper or unseasonable to consult the Re-
cords of the best and purest times of our
Religion for Precedents of this Loyal Pra-
tice, and after an Accurate, Diligent and
Impartial Enquiry, I dare in their Names

A z

declare

declare to Your Majesty and all the Christian World, their infinite abhorrence of all Treasonable and Rebellious Attempts against all Sovereign Powers whatsoever, as the rankest contradiction to their Christian Faith, and the boldest Blasphemy against their own Sovereign Lord. So that though Your Majesty were as much an Enemy as You are a Patron and Protector of the Church, whoever shall at any time, or upon any pretence, offer any Resistance to any of Your Royal Commands, must forever renounce his Saviour, the four Evangelists, and the Twelve Apostles, to join with Mahomet, Hildebrand and the Kirk, set up the Pigeon against the Dove, the Scimeter against the Cross, and turn a Judas to his Saviour, as well as a Cromwel to his Prince.

And this, Sir, in those days was thought so far from flattering Divinity, that if they had not own'd and asserted it with their last drop of Blood under the worst of Tyrants, they had judged themselves Traytors both to their Prince and to their Lord. And this Doctrine of entire and unreserved Submission was then so Catholique, so Universally Taught and Practiced, that Christian Rebellion was a Sin altogether unknown in those days. It was the only Sin, for which the Laws of the Church never

ever appointed any Punishment, because it was the only Sin that was then never actually committed. And though they had too frequent and sad Occasions to enter their Protestations against it, that was never done to correct any miscarriages among themselves, but to rectifie the misapprehensions of the Roman Emperours: Who being possess'd with too just a Jealousie, that all Alterations in Religion tended to Innovations in Government, they thought themselves oblig'd in Duty, and for the honour of their Lord to represent to their Majesties, That the erecting of his Kingdom in the Empire, was so far from shaking their Thrones, that it was and ever would be their strongest Security: And when they had done this, they had nothing more to do, then to submit themselves to their Royal Pleasure, and lay their Lives at their Royal Feet.

And this, Sir, they did with that Candour, Frankness, and Ingenuity, so without all reserves and limitations, that the slander that some Men have cast upon their Memories is as false as foul, that all their Pretended Loyalty was nothing but Hypocrisie, for want of strength to raise, and pretence of Law to Warrant Rebellion. But some Men are so ignorant, that they cannot understand the Doctrine of the Cross,

because its Superscription was written in Latin, Greek, and Hebrew, and were they not as great Strangers to the Primitive Records, as to the Primitive Religion, they could never have had the confidence to fasten a surmise so false upon so clear an Integrity; when beside giving us their own Opinions, they have left behind them the Eternal and unalterable Reasons, upon which they were grounded, and these are of equal force in all Ages, and under all Governments. And this unkind Calumny is so very unjust, that their spiteful and most implacable Enemies, who spared not to asperse them with all the vile things that could be believed, durst never charge them either with any Overt-acts, or secret designs of Disloyalty.

And as for the Laws, though no Subject were ever more thankful for good Laws, or more tender of their preservation than themselves, yet when they had them, they were neither so ungrateful nor so uncivil, as to turn them upon the Government, and make them so many Bulwarks and Sconces for Rebellion. They thought it a very scurvey complement to invite Princes to protect their Religion, by telling them, That whilst they were pleased to Persecute it, Christians were under an entire Submission to their Will and Pleasure, but when they

had

had once own'd and protected it by Law, that then their Christian Subjects were warranted to Rebel against their Sovereign Authority, by a Commission from their own Imperial Rescripts. As soft and simple Lachrimists as they were, they were wiser then to give Julian so much advantage to justify his Apostacy, when by it he recover'd the Imperial Crown to himself and his Successors, that Constantine had pawned to his Christian Subjects, by taking up the Christian Faith. And whenever there was any misunderstanding between the Emperour and his Laws, they thought it their duty, that were subject to both, to leave the Contest to be adjusted between themselves. And if the Prince were at any time undutiful to his own Laws, and so unhappy as to incur their displeasure, whatever Power the Laws had to Execute themselves upon him, they were satisfied that the Subjects had none.

And as they embraced this Principle of unlimited Submission as one of the greatest duties of their Religion, so they have farther declared in all their Writings, that setting aside all ties of Duty and Conscience, they would have done the same upon Principles of Interest and Prudence: And tho they had lived under the worst of Princes, and themselves had been the worst of Men,

A 4 they

they would have paid the same Submission for the purchase of their own ease and safety, that they thought themselves to owe out of duty to God and his Laws. These, Sir, were the Doctrines that they taught both as Divines and Philosophers, as Men that understood this World, as well as Christians that believed the World to come. And though to avoid being too bold and tedious, I have here only presented Your Majesty with the Subscriptions of all the most Reverend Fathers of the Church for the first Three hundred and sixty three Tears; yet if Your Majesty think it worth Your Royal Acceptance, I am ready to produce not only the hasty Votes, but the Hands of all Christian Bishops and Doctors for above a Thousand Tears, with a Nemine Contradicente.

But beside the demonstration of the Primitive Loyalty, I have here humbly presented Your Majesty with the true State of the Primitive Church, as it was left by our Lord and his Apostles, and taken into Protection by the first Christian Emperours, knowing how much it will endear the Church of England to Your Majesties Royal Care and Kindness, when you discern its exact conformity to the first Constitution, in all things but its Suffering. And now I cannot pray for more happiness to Your Sacred Majesty, then they comprised

sed in a Collect for their Heathen Emperours under all the Storms and Outrages of Persecution: That Almighty God would grant You a Long Life, a Quiet Reign, an Undisturbed Family, Valiant Armies, Faithful Councillors, and Loyal Subjects: That all things may fall out as successfully as Your Royal Heart can desire: That Your Empire may ever increase and flourish: And that the Lineal and Legal Succession of Your Royal Family, may inherit Your Imperial Throne through all Succeeding Ages. Which is the daily Prayer of

Your Majesties

Most Humble and

Dutiful Subject

S. P.

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Errata.

PAGE 33. Line 9. for *a* read *any*. p. 42. l. 17. for *a* r. no. p. 80. l. 17. for *effect* r. *afflict*. p. 84. l. 22. for *make* r. *makes*. p. 97. l. 2. for *domini* r. *dominii*. p. 153. l. 9. for *imminent* r. *eminent*. ibid. l. 25. for *ought* r. *ought not*. p. 157. l. 4. for *Castrian* r. *Cassian*. p. 163. l. 22. before *sufficient strength* insert *want of*. p. 190. l. 29. for *and* r. *as*. p. 241. l. 23. blot out *is*. p. 254. l. 13. for *Colleges* r. *Colledge*. p. 262. l. 25. for *verity* r. *unity*. p. 272. l. 29. after *sacrifice* insert *to*. p. 277. l. 19. after *they* insert *are*. p. 294. l. 28. for *factions* r. *fi*. p. 306 l. 2. for *whola* r. *whole*. p. 369. l. ult. r. *sanctions*. p. 392. l. 27. for *the desired* r. *desired the*. p. 410. l. ult. for *intrigue* r. *interregnum*. p. 470. l. 18. for *ill-bred* r. *ill bred*. p. 491. l. 13. for *in* r. *as*. p. 494. l. 23. for *ferced* r. *forced*. p. 529. l. 24. for *Pholians* r. *Phorinians*. p. 533. l. 7. for *our* r. *once*. p. 537. l. 13. for *lying* r. *flying*. p. 588. l. 4. insert *though* before *they* had.

PART I.

SECT. I.

UPON the Dissolution of the *Roman* Tyranny, under which all Christianity had groan'd for many Ages; infinite were the disputes and controversies, that were immediately every where rais'd about the true Constitution of the Ecclesiastical State and Government. Some out of an over-vehement loathing of their late Bondage, were out-ragious for its utter Abolition, so as to leave every man to his own liberty, and folly too, to teach and practise what himself pleases in matters of Religion, without being accountable to any Superior, Ecclesiastical or Civil, for any misdemeanours therein. Others are as fierce to have all Ecclesiastical Officers (though immediately Commission'd by our Saviour for the Government of his Kingdom through all Ages) stript of all manner of Authority in the Christian Church, and all Government of Religion vested only in the Civil Magistrate. Others again

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were

were neither for its utter Extirpation, nor confining the whole exercise of its Jurisdiction to the Secular Powers, but for dividing it into its several Provinces, assigning some part of it to the Clergy, and some to the Civil State. Because Religion being Instituted chiefly for these two great ends, *viz.* The advancement of the present Peace and Welfare of Mankind in this World, and their safe Conduct and Passage to the State of Bliss and Happiness in the World to come: so far as it relates to the present quiet of humane Society, it is but fit and necessary it should be subject to the Authority of the Supreme Powers over them, whose proper Duty, Trust, and Office it is to provide for the settlement and preservation of the Publick Peace. And therefore seeing that Religion has a prime and over-ruling influence upon that, so as either to establish or disturb it by its good or bad management, it concerns them in the first place to encourage such Doctrines and Principles, as in their own nature tend to the Peace and Quiet of Government, and to root out such false Notions, as incline or induce men to any Turbulent and Seditious practices under any pretences or mistakes of Religion. And if any such there be, or if any such there have been; nay,

if any such there can be, it cannot be denied by the boldest Libertines, but that in such cases the Supreme Magistrate must be allowed power to defend himself and his Government against their Errors or Follies, by the force and execution of present Laws and Penalties. But then as the Christian Religion aims at the future happiness of the Souls of men, its Conduct and Government is left to a peculiar Order of men, to whom its Founder has entrusted the care of Souls, and for which they are accountable to him alone. For seeing the Kingdom that he established was altogether different in its Constitution from worldly Empire: Seeing he appointed Officers void of all Secular Power to preside over it by virtue of his own immediate Authority: And seeing he has engaged a peculiar Providence to be assistant to them in the Government of his Church through all Ages, the case is plain to all Men that believe his Institution, that all Ecclesiastical Power, whatever it is, that concerns the welfare of Mens Souls in the World to come, is entirely vested in the spiritual Guides and Governors of the Church.

It being therefore so manifest, past all contradiction, that in all Christian States, there are and must be from the Nature

both of Government and Christianity, two distinct Powers, the only difficulty will be so to determine the Bounds of each, that they neither interfere in the exercise of their Jurisdiction, nor any way inroach upon each others Authority. An undertaking that has been often attempted by learned Men, but generally with that vehement bias and partiality either way, that has made it a Controversie not for truth but interest. For it being chiefly managed by Divines and Canonists in behalf of the Church, and by Statesmen and Lawyers in behalf of the Common-wealth, each Party have not so much endeavour'd to assign the real Bounds of Truth, as to propagate their own Empire and Dominion. And for this reason is it that the Writers of the Church of *Rome* so eagerly and universally advance the Ecclesiastical Power, (the omnipotent Sovereignty of which they settle in the Pope alone) as to raise it above the Power of all Sovereign Princes, and all the Powers of the Earth. Neither are they content to make it Superior to all their Authority, but swell it to that exorbitant Greatness, till they swallow up all Empire into its Jurisdiction. And for this very reason the learned that have generally opposed themselves to these

these high and wild pretences, have as generally run into the other Extreme, so as to take all Ecclesiastical Authority not only from his Holiness and his Court, but from all Ecclesiastical Officers, to whom it was consign'd by our Blessed Saviour, to the utter destruction of any such thing as a Christian Church. So that in this Partial and in reality Prophane way of managing this great Controversie, they contend not about the true and just grounds of each Province, but both fight for the possession of the whole. In which way of waging War, no other event of it can be expected, then of that irreconcilable feud between *Hannibal* and the great *Scipio*, that either *Rome* or *Carthage* must be destroyed, and the Empire of one intirely subdued to the Dominion of the other. And though some very few have treated of these things with somewhat more temper and moderation, so as to acknowledge some kind of Bounds to their respective Jurisdictions, yet they scarce ever set and determine them with that Justice and Equality, that the security both of Government and Religion requires; but apparently warp to their own side, as they incline to, or depend upon the interest of the Civil or Ecclesiastical State. And therefore that is the

great and only advantage that I can ensure to my self above those many so very much more learned Men, that have labour'd in this weighty Argument, that I know my self to undertake it without being engaged by any prejudice, or biased by any Interest, or hired by any Reward then purely the discharge of a good Conscience (without which the highest pleasure and satisfaction that humane life can afford, were not a tolerable thing; but with it an ordinary State of life with health, is a present Paradise, and state of Happiness.) So that how much soever I come behind others (and I am sensible of a very great distance) in the advantages of Wit and Learning, yet I shall give place to no Man in freedom and integrity of Judgment. And that alone I am sure is enough to make me Master of my Argument; for if Men would only consider the Nature of the thing it self, and abstract it from interest and prejudice, that alone would bring them into a right understanding of it. But when instead of looking directly upon their Object as they ought, they labour to squint and pervert their own Eye-sight, it is their own fault that they lose its natural representation. And this is the very thing that fills the World with so many disputes to

so little purpose, because Men in their Enquiries will not follow the guidance of things themselves; whereas if they would but be pleased to do so, the truth of every thing is as clear and visible to a diligent Enquirer as Light it self. There is not any one Argument that is thought more intricate, obscure, and difficult then this that I am now undertaking, and therefore it is for the most part baulkt by the Wise Men of the World, as a point too touchy to be handled, especially because such great and powerful interests are engaged in the Contest, and they are sure to be jealous (as they ought to be) of their own Prerogatives, and will hardly so much as endure to have them touched, much less sett'd and confin'd. So that this dispute is not only supposed difficult but dangerous, in that it is thought so hard a matter for the Undertaker not to incur some way or other the displeasure of his Superiours, by his best and most honest performance. And yet after all this wariness and wisdom, if Men would but state the thing only as that states it self, there is scarce any one Controversie that can be more safe or more easie then its determination. For things are so wonderfully order'd by the wise Providence of God in settling Christiani-

ty in the World, that by determining the power of the Church and State, as they are determin'd by his own original Settlement, both Parties may have their own utmost demands, and particularly the Civil Power more then otherwise it could have. demanded. And I doubt not but before I have done to give satisfaction to the highest Pretenders either way, especially on the side of the State without any invasion of the Churches Power. To assign an inherent and independent Power in the Church, distinct from that of the State, and immediately derived, not from the Prince, but our Saviour, and that I am sure is as much as the highest claims to Ecclesiastical Power can, with any modesty, or without rank dishonesty challenge. But then this being granted, I shall demonstrate, That there is as full and unabated Supremacy in Sovereign Powers over all manner of Ecclesiastical Authority, as if it had been entirely derived from their own special Grant and Commission: And that certainly is as high a Prerogative as any Prince can care to demand; to have a Sovereign Power over all the Powers within his own Dominions: So that whether they are derived from his Authority or not, they shall be as entirely Subject to it, as if they

they had subsisted by no other Charter. And that is as high a Supremacy as Mr. *Hobbs* himself has been pleased to challenge for Sovereign Princes, when he took away all Power from the Church to vest it in them; for though it is a very gross prophaneness in him to allow no Authority for Religion it self, then as it is enjoin'd and made Law by them; yet that Authority that is in the Church by Divine Right, is as absolutely Subject to their Dominion, as it could have been, had it been establisht as Mr. *Hobbs* contends, only by their own Authority. And this State of the Controversie, if it can be made good, I am certain will satisfy all Parties that can claim any share or degree of Government in Church or State, but most of all the Supreme Powers, to whose Sovereignty all Power, whatsoever it is, or whencesoever derived, is indispensibly Subjected. As for the Jurisdiction of the Church as settled by Divine Right, and nothing else; I have discoursed of that in former Treatises, and proved that it is immediately derived from our Saviour himself, and settled unalienably by him upon the Apostles, and their Successors the Bishops forever; so that here I must suppose the Constitution of the Christian Church within it self, and all that

that I am bound to do at present, is, That supposing its distinct and independent Authority for granted, to explain how it accommodates and submits it self to the Civil State, and comes under the common obligation of all good Subjects to true Allegiance and Loyalty to the Sovereign Prince.

§. II. And here the first and chiefest thing to be consider'd is, That Christianity supposes the Power of Princes, Civil Government being settled in the World from its beginning by the general Providence of God, and antecedently to our Saviour's particular Institution, And therefore as the first thing that our Saviour openly declared, when he enter'd upon his Office, was the erection of his own new Kingdom; so the next thing that he took care to instruct his Subjects in, was, that this his Kingdom was no Kingdom of this World. So that from thence it is evident, that he left the Government of the Kingdoms of this World in the same posture in which they had ever stood, before he came into it. And therefore there could be no alteration, much less abatement of the Civil Government any where upon the score of his Authority, otherwife the Institution of his Kingdom

dom had been a breach upon the Ancient Rights of those Sovereign Powers, in whose Dominions it was erected, which was the first thing that our Saviour whilst himself conversed upon Earth, was careful to avoid. This therefore is to be set down in the first place, as the Fundamental Article of his Religion, that neither himself, nor any of those that he has deputed for the Government of it, challenge any Temporal Power to themselves, or any exemption from the Authority of those that have it. Neither is this to be lookt upon only as a positive duty, but it is necessary in it self from the nature and the design of Christianity, which was to settle a pure Religion in the World by the strength of its own truth and goodness, without any help of worldly power, or mixture of worldly interest, as I have elsewhere shewn at large from the whole story of its first settlement. And therefore agreeable to this great Observation it is very remarkable, That our Saviour himself whilst he convers'd upon Earth, did not only never challenge any kind of Civil Authority to himself, but seiz'd all occasions to desie and disclaim it, as absolutely inconsistent with his Commission. Thus *John* 6. 15. When the People, supposing him to be that Temporal Messias that

that they expected, would have forced him to take the Kingdom upon himself; he immediately withdrew into a Solitude to shift their importunity. And *Luke 12. 13, 14.* When one solicited him only to take upon him the Authority of an Arbitrator, he perfectly disavows it, as if he were solicitous not to give them the least pretence of Objection against him for his intermeddling with the Civil Government; And yet he might lawfully have done it, according to the received custom of the Jews at that time; for in the *Babylonish* Captivity, to avoid the scandal of Contention before Heathens, they referred all their Controversies to the Rabbies and Doctors of the Law (and such an one this Jew supposed our Saviour to have been; as appears by his giving him their proper Title of *Master*) and whoever refused to stand to their award, he was Excommunicated their Society, as a scandal to the *Jewish* Nation. And this priviledge of being their own Judges among themselves, was granted to them by the *Romans*, and for a long time continued by the Christian Emperors themselves. And therefore though our Saviour might have undertaken this Office by the allowance and permission of the Civil Government; yet to avoid all suspicions of any such im-

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putation, he protests against it as unbecoming his own Office and Person: And the case is the very same as to the Woman taken in Adultery, *Joh. 8. 3.* of whom he declares that he had no such Authority, as they imagin'd, to pass any Sentence upon her, according to their Law; so that if she were not legally condemn'd before they brought her before him, she was at liberty for any such Power that he had to pass Sentence upon her. But the most remarkable passage for his disclaiming all Earthly Power, is in his Examination before *Pontius Pilate*, *Joh. 18. 36.* to whom he freely confesses, that he is a King, but to prevent his jealousy or mistake, he both immediately declares that his Kingdom is not of this World,

* and clearly explains what he means by it: For, *If my Kingdom were of this World, then would my Servants fight, that I should not be deliver'd to the Jews.* From which words we understand his evident meaning when he professes that his Kingdom is not of this World, that it is not endued with any power of the Sword. So that for any of his Officers or Subjects, to make any resistance to the Civil Power by the Sword, in defence of his

Audite Judai & Gentiles, audi circumciso, audi preputium, audite omnia regna terrena. Non impedio dominationem vestram in hoc Mundo: Regnum meum non est de hoc Mundo. Augustin. in *Evangel. Johan. Tract. 115.*

King-

dom, is to destroy the very nature of its Constitution, that consists in this, that it is to be govern'd by the power of Truth, and is distinguish'd from the Kingdoms of this World, in that it is a Kingdom without the power of the Sword. And therefore for any Officers in it to pretend to any such Power by virtue of any Authority or Commission from him, is at once both to dethrone and renounce his Kingly Power, because it is a contradiction to his whole design in the World, to have either such a Kingdom or such Subjects. And that he further declares to be nothing else then the Institution of Christ: an Truth in it, by virtue of its own Goodness. *To this end was I born, and for this cause came I into the World, that I should bear Witness unto the Truth; every one that is of the Truth heareth my Voice.* That is, all Men that are lovers of true Goodness will voluntarily come into my Kingdom, and submit themselves to my Doctrine and Discipline: for that is the evident meaning of that phrase, *They that are of the Truth*, they that are ingenuous and sincere lovers of it, as in the Epistle to the Romans, c. 2. v. 8. *They that are of the Contention*, i. e. Persons that are given up to Contention. So that there is the true State of Christ's Kingdom, that it

it is a Kingdom without force within it self, and has no true Subjects but such as freely and of their own accord submit themselves to it out of love to the Goodness of its Government. So that whereas all other Kingdoms subsist by the power of the Sword, his, taken by it self, and as not complicated with the Civil Government, cannot subsist with it. And therefore when St. Peter drew his Sword in defence of his Master, he commands him to sheath it, because it was a Method inconsistent with his Design, *Matth. 26. 53. Thinkest thou that I cannot now pray to my Father, and he shall presently give me more then Twelve Legions of Angels?* If that had been the proper method to compass his design, and to settle his Kingdom, he could easily have done it by an Army of Angels, but that would have spoil'd the whole work, had he betook himself to any forcible defence, who was to establish an Institution in the World by no other means then its own Truth and Goodness. Many reasons are given of our Saviour's reproof to St. Peter by learned Men of all Factions, to enhance, or abate its obligation; but the only true reason is, that which himself has here given, that it was utterly inconsistent with the nature of his Institution. This was the

the sense of the Doctors of the Church, through all Ages. down to the very time of *Gratian* himself in the year 1150, an hundred years and more, after the time of *Pope Gregory the Seventh*; so that though he had declared and practised against it, it seems his Doctrine could not speedily obtain any great footing in the Christian Church: who treating of the power of the Sword to whom it belongs, determines from this very passage, that of all Men the Officers of the Church have nothing to do with it. *De Episcopis verò vel quibuscumque Clericis, quod nec sua auctoritate nec auctoritate Romani Pontificis arma arripere valeant facile probatur. Cum enim Petrus, qui primus Apostolorum a Domino fuerat electus, materiam gladium exerceret, ut Magistrum a Judæorum injuriâ defensaret, audiuit [converte gladium tuum in vaginam: Omnis enim qui gladium acceperit, à gladio peribit] ac si aperte ei diceretur, hactenus tibi tuisque prædecessoribus inimicos Dei licuit gladio corporali persequi: deinceps in exemplum patientiæ gladium tuum, id est, tibi hactenus commissum, in vaginam converte: & tamen spirituales gladium, quod est verbum Dei, in mactatione veteris vitæ exerce. Omnis enim præter illum vel auctoritatem ejus, qui legitima potestate*

Decret. secundæ pars causa 23. quest. 8.

utitur,

utitur, quò, ut ait Apostolus, non sine causa gladium portat, cui etiam omnis anima subdita esse debet, omnis, inquam, qui præter auctoritatem hujusmodi gladium acceperit, gladio peribit.

As for Bishops and all Orders of the Clergy, it is evident that they ought not to take up Arms either by their own, or the Pope's Authority. For when *Peter the Prince of the Apostles* brandish't the material Sword, to defend his Master from the violence of the Jews, he heard a Voice, Put up thy Sword into its Scabbard, for all that take the Sword shall perish by the Sword. As if he had expressly said, hitherto it has been allowed thee and thy Predecessors (i. e. I suppose the High Priests under the Old Testament) to punish the Enemies of God with the Corporal Sword, but from this time forward I command thee to sheath it for an example of Patience, and use the Spiritual Sword, which is the Word of God, to Sacrifice the lusts of the old life. For all beside him, or the Authority of him, who is endued with legal Power, and who, as the Apostle says, bears not the Sword in vain, and to whom every Soul ought to be Subject, every Man, I say, that draws the Sword without his Authority, shall perish by it. And this state of

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the question he proves from the Authority of divers ancient Councils and Popes, which I here forbear to recite, because I intend (if God permit) to consider them in their proper Times and Places; for that is my design as I proceed to reap the whole field of Church Records, and not glean, as the common Custom is, its scattered fragments. Only this passage of the Father of the Canonists I have here dropt in, to let his modern Followers, that are one and all base flatterers of the *Roman* Court against all Sovereign Powers, see how enormously they wander from the Text of their own Law, as well as the Holy Bible. But to return, our Saviour having declared to the President what his Kingdom was not, *i. e.* a Kingdom destitute of Force and the Power of the Sword; he proceeds to declare what it was, *viz.* a Kingdom of Truth. Which *Pilate* taking to be some kind of Stoical Kingdom, for such a thing the Stoicks pretended to at an high rate by virtue of their Philosophy, he asks him what is the Truth, that he professes. But reflecting it seems with himself, that it was not pertinent for a Judge upon the Bench to enter into a Philosophick dispute with a Prisoner at the Bar, he lets fall the Question by not staying for an Answer.

But beside these evident passages in our Saviour's conversation for disclaiming all Civil Sovereignty, there is one Text, that is usually by mistake applied to this purpose, though it relate to a very different matter, * and that is *Matth. 17. 27.* ^{Barclay} where our Saviour is supposed to pay Tribute to the *Roman* Collectors, and that is <sup>contra Mo-
narchom.
l. 3. p. 157.
Salmaf.
dissert. Regi-
cap. 31</sup> owning his subjection to their Government. But the Didrachma, the Money there demanded of him, was not Tribute money paid to the *Roman* Publicans, for we never read of any such Tax, but Temple-money paid to the Jewish Priests and their Collectors, for the Use and Service of the Temple, and this continued till the time of *Vespasian*, who, as *Josephus* relates it, imposed upon the Jews this Tax of two Drachms, that they had hitherto paid towards the repairs and annual expences of the Temple at *Jerusalem*, for the use of the Capitol at *Rome*. And this explains the true meaning and reason of our Saviour's demur to its payment, when he asks *Peter*, Whether Princes are wont to take Tribute of their own Children; because this Tax for the Temple Service was gather'd in God's Name, and was called *God's Tax*; as *Josephus* more than once expresses it, and therefore it was as improper for our Saviour, who was the

Son of God, and as it were Prince of the Temple, to pay this kind of Tribute, as it is for an Heir of the Crown to be Taxed by the King his Father, after the same rate with his other Subjects. But though these Gentlemen have grossly mistaken the Text, their Antimonarchical Adversaries prophanely abuse it when they pretend, as they unanimously do, *That our Saviour paid this Tax for himself and Peter* (as they conceit, to *Herod*, who had converted the Revenue of the Temple to his own use) *purely to avoid offence, yet they were not bound to do it, and if Peter, because a Disciple of Christ was here made free from paying burthensom Taxes, so are all Christians as free as he, and may legally refuse to submit to such Tyrannous Impositions.* As if our Saviour were such a Prophet as *Mahomet*, who headed the Rebellion of the Soldiers against the Emperor *Heraclius*; or rather such another Messias as *Judas of Galilee*, who pretended to be sent of God to instruct his People, that they ought not to pay Tribute to the *Romans*; and as Rabbi *Gamaliel* informs us, *Act. 5. 37.* drew away much People after him, whose blood *Pilate* mingled with their Sacrifices to stop the Contagion of their seditious Doctrines, and declared it High-Treason for any

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Man to teach *that it is not lawful to pay Tribute to Caesar.* And that very probably was the true ground why the Jews made it the chief Article of our Saviour's Accusation before *Pilate*, *That he perverted the Nation, forbidding them to pay Tribute to Caesar.* And it is evident, that it was the craft of the *Pharisees* and *Herodians*, when they went about to entangle him with this Question, *Whether it was Lawful to give Tribute unto Caesar or not*, that they might expose him to the Roman Officers, expecting that he would have declared himself an Assertor of the Jewish Liberty, agreeable to the present Doctrine of the *Zealots* and the *Gaulonites*, that it was not lawful to be Subject to any Power but God alone. But he very wisely avoids their snare by answering, *That they might serve God, and pay Tribute to Caesar too*; and therefore seeing it appeared by the Inscription upon the Coin, that *Caesar* was their Sovereign Prince, it was not only lawful, but their bounden Duty to pay him Tribute, because it was only to render him what was his Due. And in reality, this whole Transaction between our Saviour and these Trapping Enquirers, is the clearest state of his Doctrine against resistance to the worst of Princes,

*Jos. de Bel-
to Judaico;
l. 2. c. 14.*

upon any pretence of Religion whatsoever : For *Tiberius* was then the present Emperor, a Man infamous to all Ages for his Fallhood and Cruelty, Lust, and Debauchery, whose whole Reign was nothing, but Fraud and Oppression ; but above all he was most severe to the Jews, and their Religion, banisht them *Rome*, and dispersed them into the worst Parts of the Empire. And yet when our Saviour is askt his Opinion concerning submission to so brutal a Prince, he has no regard to his Personal Qualifications, but to the Rights of Sovereignty : Whatever the Man is, it is enough that he is your Prince, and after that there is no room left to resist his Impositions. And here it is farther to be observed, that the Question and the Answer is general, not Whether it were lawful to pay Tribute to *Tiberius* only, but to *Cæsar*, to any Emperor ; to which the Answer is round and peremptory, Whoever is your Sovereign you are bound to submit to his Impositions, and therefore seeing you own the Emperor for your Sovereign by using the Coin stampd with his Image (which is the very badge of Sovereignty in all Nations) you are as well bound in Duty to submit to his Commands, as you are to obey Gods ; and as it is your Duty to

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Worship God, so is it to pay Tribute to the Emperor. But according to our new Hildebrandine and Antichristian Divinity, our Saviour ought to have answered with more caution, and distinguisht concerning the Legality of *Cæsar's* Impositions, and demurr'd upon the Qualifications of his Person : If he be a good Man, and govern according to Law, I would advise you to pay him Tribute : But otherwise, if he be an Oppressor, and his Tax immoderate, resist and take up Arms against the Tyrant ; and as you will be faithful to your Country, your Religion, and your Liberties, deliver them from the burden of his Tyrannical Government. This one Principle is the result of all the Antimonarchical Pleas and Apologies to warrant Resistance ; and no doubt it would make wise work in the World, if every Subject might lawfully take up Arms against his Prince, as oft as he is pleased in his own wisdom to find fault with his Government. And yet that, I say, is the bottom of all Antimonarchical Pretences, that they may, and ought to defend their Liberties by force of Arms against the Sovereign Prince, if he do not Govern according to Law : And so this very Text is glossed by one of the whitest Patrons of the Cause, *Cum Dei sumus*,

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i. e. perè liberi, ob eamque causam soli Deo reddendi, profecto Cæsari nos, i. e. homini, & præsertim Injusto, Improbo, Tyranno in servitutem tradere sine piaculo, & quidem maximo Sacrilegio non possumus. When we are God's Subjects, and truly free, and are to be accountable to God alone, we cannot deliver up our selves into *Cæsar's* servitude, who is but a Man, but especially if he be Unjust, Wicked, Tyrannical, without Villainy and Sacriledge. A very gentle Gloss this, upon our Saviour's Text, to make it so far from any suspicion of sin to Rebel against unjust, or wicked Princes, that not to destroy them and their Tyranny were Villainy, Sacriledge, and Treason against God himself. And thus, if this Gloss be once admitted, is our Saviour made an open *Gaulonite*, declaring himself and all his followers free from the unjust exactions of Sovereign Powers: which is only to charge him with that very Crime that his most implacable Enemies would have fastened upon him. So prophane are these Men forced to be in their wickedness, as to justify Treason by Blasphemy, and no Blasphemy can be rarer then to make our Saviour a Patron of Rebellion. But because this Gloss looks too bold, they have an evasion to shift the Text, viz. That

That our Saviour did not Answer, but only baulk and involve the Question, in that there is no consequence that the Money was *Cæsar's* because stamp't with his Impression, for then all that we have would for the same reason be *Cæsar's* too. But as the Gloss accuses our Saviour of breach of honesty, by making him invade the Power of the Sword when he had disclaim'd it; so this evasion charges him with defect of understanding, as if our Saviour had been so weak as to argue *Cæsar's* Title of Propriety from his Inscription. Whereas any Man of Common sense, if he will not industriously pervert it, cannot but understand that our Saviour argues from the known Custom of all Nations in the World, to stamp their Coin with their King's Image, so that the piece of Money that they shewed him bearing *Cæsar's* Picture, that was an Evidence that he was their Sovereign Lord, and therefore were they bound to submit to him in all his Commands that were not inconsistent with the Law of God; and paying of Tribute not being so, it was not only no sin, but a necessary Duty, or, as *St. Paul* expresses it, in pursuance of his Masters Precept, exhorting and commanding the Christians to pay Tribute not only for Fear, but for

for *Conscience sake*, and because it is *due*.

This Sense is so very plain and unavoidable, that nothing but malicious dissimulation could pervert it; and the truth of it is, this sort of men seem to take a kind of Pride and Delight in insulting over the Holy Scriptures, and make them ridiculous by their own imperious glosses to avoid their force, as we shall see as we proceed. But at present to give one example for all, there are among them that blush not to prove our Saviour's Civil Dominion over the Kings of the Earth from the blessed Virgins Song. *He hath defeated the Proud in the imagination of their hearts, he hath put down the Mighty from their Seat, and hath exalted the humble and meek.* In which words she glorifies the Goodness and Wisdom of God, that he was pleased that his Son should be born of a poor despised Maid, and not as the great Men of the World expected, of them that sat upon the Thrones of the Earth; from which humble and grateful piece of Devotion to infer, that she rejoiced and triumphed in the Prospect of that Confusion that her Son should bring upon the World, by subverting and pulling down all the established Governments in it; and erecting every

every where new Kingdoms and Principalities by his own Prerogative; 'tis so rude an imposing, not only on this particular passage, but upon the whole Tenor of the Gospel it self, and the nature of our Saviour's Office, as argues a strange height either of Pride or Prophaneness. For nothing can be more evident from all the preceding passages, and the whole Scope of the Gospel, than our Saviour's disclaimour of any pretence to any Temporal Authority. And the truth of it is, if he had laid claim to any such Power, his Religion had stood upon no better Foundation than that of *Mahomet*, that was at first planted and propagated, and has hitherto been maintain'd by nothing but the power of the Sword. Whereas the Design of our Saviour's Institution was pure and unmixt Religion, and therefore abetted it self and its Laws by no other Sanctions, then only the rewards and punishments of the life to come. And the same Power that he claim'd and exercis'd himself, and no other, he devolved upon his Apostles, from them to descend to their Successors to the end of the World; so that all their power, whatever it is, being derived from him, is of the same nature with that, which himself whilst on Earth challenged as Head of his Church. And yet it is plain that

as Head of his Church he was so far from challenging any superiority over the Powers of the World, that he profess nothing more frankly than an entire subjection to them. And therefore Sovereign Princes cannot be properly said to be vested with any power under our Saviour as such, for as it is evident that they are vested with a Supremacy of Power antecedent to his Institution, so is it as evident that he never gave them any Commission for the Government of his Kingdom. That power was given to his Apostles, that were as much subject to the Civil Government, as himself had ever been; so that as he could give them no Temporal Power because he had, or rather would have none, it is plain that neither they nor their Successors could pretend to any by virtue of his Commission. What he enjoys in Heaven as the Son of God, whatever it is, is peculiar to himself upon the account of his Divinity, but he has communicated none other to his Church on Earth, than what himself claim'd whilst he remain'd in it, which was purely spiritual in order to a Future State, but void of all Temporal Power and Coercion. So that it is but a crude expression (not to call it prophane, because it is so common by customary mistake) to affirm that

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Kings are *Supream Governors under Christ*. They are and ever were so under God, but so as to be *superiour* to Christ, as Christ is Head of his Church within their Dominions. For as Head of his Church he ever own'd himself subject to the Temporal Powers. And therefore what absoluteness of power soever he enjoys by virtue of his Divine Nature, yet as the *Messias* or the Mediator of the new Covenant (for as such he was man, *1 Tim. 2. 5.*) or as the Head and Founder of the Christian Society, he strips both himself and his Officers of all pretences to, and advantages of Temporal Power. The reason of it we must carry with us all along, because it is the Essential thing peculiar to his Institution, that it might be able to subsist purely upon its own strength, and maintain it self purely by virtue of its own Goodness, and that not only without the Assistance, but against the utmost Opposition of all Worldly Power. And therefore the wise Providence of God so order'd things, that it was sent into the World under all disadvantages, but only of its own Truth and Goodness. And by that alone it prevailed over all the World, before it had the least countenance from the Civil Powers, nay whilst it was with all their strength, zeal, and malice oppos'd by

by them. And this is the only thing that made it pure Religion, and distinguished it from all other Religions in the World; whereas had it any certain Temporal advantage annexed to it as such, men had been invited to embrace it as matter of Interest, and not of Conscience, and then it had become Worldly Policy, and ceased to have been Religion. That then is the first Principle upon which our whole Christianity lies, that all the Advantages, Privileges, and Preeminences, that the Church can pretend to derive from our Saviour are purely Spiritual, relating only to the State of Souls in the World to come. And if the Church any where enjoy any other Dignities or Jurisdictions, it derives them wholly from the Grants and Charters of Sovereign Princes, who may endow them with what Privileges themselves think convenient, as they may any other Order of their Subjects. And what Powers or Privileges all States that profess Christianity, are bound by that profession to settle upon the Church, I shall shew in its proper place, but whatever they are, the Church cannot challenge them by it's Original Charter. So that if any Church shall be so presumptuous as to pretend to any such Power, which way soever it comes

comes in, whether directly or indirectly, by virtue of our Saviour's Commission, that is not only a Contradiction to the Nature of Christianity, but an Atheistical Abuse put upon the whole Design of the Institution. But as to pretend to any such Power from our Saviour only over Subjects, is no less than Blasphemy against him; so to pretend to it over Sovereigns, doubles the Blasphemy by adding the Sin of Rebellion to that of Impiety, and utterly destroys not only the Being and Constitution of a Christian Church, but of all humane Societies. So that how many Marks soever there may be of a true Church, this alone is an infallible Note of a false one. And therefore every Church that refuses to disclaim any Temporal Power over Princes, renounces the Christian Faith, and forfeits all the Rights and Privileges of a Christian Church; but if it should be so vain as openly to claim any such power, it bids open defiance to our Saviour, and quits him and his Religion to follow *Mahomet*. So that there is no one thing in the World can so effectually unchurch a Church, as its claiming any Temporal Authority to itself, especially over Sovereign Powers. And this I doubt will light very severely upon the Bishops of *Rome* ever since the

Hildebrandine

Elildebrandine Apostacy, viz. That the Pope as Vicar of Christ, has a power of deposing Sovereign Princes, and absolving Subjects from their Allegiance; this they have own'd whenever they durst, and put in practice whenever they could, and would never be brought upon any Terms to condemn it, which Doctrine certainly is the greatest unkindness that they can do themselves, and the worst thing that their greatest Enemies could desire to object against them; and if any thing can prove *his Holiness* to be Antichrist, this is the thing, because it is an utter Subversion of the whole State of Christianity, and makes our Saviour a false Christ by making him a Temporal Messias, and placing him in the head of an Army to subdue the Princes and Nations of the World into subjection to himself. I am sure for this very reason does the Learned Cardinal *Baronius* make *Mahomet* the Type of Antichrist, because he promoted his Religion over several parts of the World by force of Arms, *Quod armorum potentia tot provincias nullo ferme negotio per suos posteros ejusdem sectæ homines subjugasset.* He would have done well to have applyed this Censure nearer home, and then he would not have justified all the Rebellious Popes in their violencies and

Ad annum.
650. n. 14.

and outrages, that they acted against Sovereign Princes, and yet no man has done it with more diligence then himself, as I shall prove when I come to consider his Performance. Neither will this Charge of Apostacy light only upon the Church of *Rome*, but upon every Church that maintains a right of resistance to Sovereign Powers upon a pretence of Christian Religion whatsoever, for that is still to take to themselves such a power against their Prince by our Saviours Authority, which is the same direct contradiction to the Nature of the Christian Faith, and the same sort of Apostacy from Christianity to Mahumetism, putting a Scymeter into our Saviours hand, and under his pretended conduct waging War against their lawful Sovereign, and that is the greatest dishonour that they can bring to their Master or themselves, And yet we shall find some other Churches as much guilty of this Apostacy both in Doctrine and Practice as that of *Rome*, and though *Rome* and they stand at the greatest distance of Enmity, out of Jealousie of one another who should carry the prize, yet they both fully agree in this fundamental Antichristian Principle. But this Charge will come home in its proper place, at present we must take this Article

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of faith all along with us. No Temporal Authority in the Church unless from the grant of the State.

§. III. But then secondly it must be granted too, that the Power of Princes, how great soever in Church matters, supposes the Spiritual Authority of the Church, that was as much settled by our Saviour, without any dependency on the Authority of the State, as the Authority of the State was settled by the Providence of God, before there was any such thing as a Christian Church in the World. So that it is undeniably evident from its original Constitution, that the Church subsists no more upon the State as to its proper Power, then the State upon the Church. For as the Christian Church came into the World, after the Civil Government of States was entirely settled in it, so did the World come into the Church after its Government was as entirely fixed within it self. And therefore as Christianity by its coming into the World ought no manner of way to abate the Civil Power of the State, so neither when the Powers of the World come into the Church, ought they to diminish any thing of that Authority, that it enjoyed by Divine Commission before they came

came into it. For they are received into it upon the same terms with all other Profelytes of the Christian Faith, that they submit themselves to it as our Saviour's own Institution. So that as our first point is, That all Sovereign Princes have, or ought to have, an Imperial Supremacy over all Ecclesiastical Persons, and in all Ecclesiastical Causes; Our second is, That this Supremacy, which is the highest Power that can be on Earth, is no Ecclesiastical, but a Civil Supremacy. For beside that, it would be a dishonour to degrade a Sovereign Prince to the Priestly Office : The Ecclesiastical Power is purely Spiritual, and that is a Power that was never challenged by any Prince, nor directly given by any Man (though it is so by plain and undeniable consequence by all that disown an Inherent Authority in the Church, from our Saviour's own Commission) but only Mr. *Hobbs*, who as he made the Prince his own Priest, made him his own God too. Now these two Principles laid together, clear up the Nature and Title of the Supremacy of Sovereign Princes, That it is none of that Spiritual Power that is lodged in the Church, but a Temporal Supremacy over all the Spiritual Power of it, within his own Dominions. And now if these

two Principles, that are as certain as Christianity it self, were but calmly attended to, they would perfectly silence all the clamours of both the extreme Parties in this Controversie. Those of the Church of *Rome* must cease their noise, that we make the King a Bishop, by acknowledging his Supremacy in all Ecclesiastical Causes, and over all Ecclesiastical Persons, when upon this State of the Question such a Supremacy over all things and persons within their Dominions, is inseparable from all Sovereign Power, and Christianity, and all the Power that it brings along with it, comes into the World upon its supposition: So that by it we are so far from making the King a Priest, that without it, we cannot own him to be our King. And on the other side, when we assert a Spiritual Power to the Church, distinct from, though subject to the King's Supremacy, others cry out Popery, *Præmunires*, and I know not what hard names, they would soon let fall their out-cry, if they would consider that it is such a Power as never any Prince exercised, or wittingly challenged (though it is possible that some may have run upon it by mistake) and is neither Temporal nor Foreign Jurisdiction. And in those two points lies the ma-

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lignity of the pretended Supremacy of the Bishop of *Rome*; for as it is Temporal, it plainly subjects the Regal Authority to its Empire; and as it is Foreign, it makes the whole Kingdom Feudatory, and brings us into the form of a Province under an *Italian* Prince; both which are such abuses of Government, as evidently subvert it. Nay farther, as a Foreign Temporal Jurisdiction is inconsistent with the *English* Monarchy; so is all kind of Foreign Jurisdiction, though meerly Spiritual, irreconcilable with the Prerogative Royal. The reason and the account whereof, I shall give in its proper place, when I come to state that ease, but yet undiscover'd Point of the Divine Authority of National Churches. All that I am obliged to at present is to shew the difference between that Authority that we assign to the Church of *England*, and that which the Bishop of *Rome* would Usurp; against which though there were nothing else to be objected but its being Foreign, for that reason alone it ought to be banisht the Nation as an Enemy to the Civil Government. Whereas the Authority of the Church of *England* is seated in the King's own Subjects, who can call them to an account for it, if they use it to his own or his Subjects prejudice,

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dice, and can as well punish them for any disorders in the abusive Exercise of it, as he can any of his own Officers for their misdemeanors in their trust in the Common-wealth. So that so far is the King's Supremacy, as it is stated in the Church of *England*, from entrenching upon the proper Power of the Church, as the *Romanists* cavil, that it only protects it in the due exercise of its Jurisdiction : And so far is the proper power of the Church from disclaiming or abating any thing of the King's Supremacy, as the other Factions clamour, that it first Establishes that upon the most lasting Foundations of Divine Institution, before it makes any claim to its own Power, and when it does, it does it upon no other Terms than of entire submission to its Supreme Authority. And now that Man must wilfully dream, that can imagine such a power as this in the Church, can be any way prejudicial to, or detractive from the Civil Government ; and yet that such a Power there is, is an assertion worth no less than our Christianity it self ; that stands or falls with it. For if our Saviour have not entrusted his Church with a Power within it self, sufficient to maintain it self by vertue of his own Authority ; then it stands upon no stronger Foundation than the

the Will of the Sovereign Power. And then as that can Establish, so it can Abrogate its whole Obligation ; which is plainly to say, that it is no True Religion, for it is certainly none if it relye only upon humane Authority. So that all that can be concluded in this case is, that upon supposition that our Christian Faith is an Imposture, there can be no Power in the Christian Church, and that for a very good reason, because then the Church can be no Church. But upon supposition that our Saviour founded it by Divine Authority, the peculiar Power of the Church derived meerly and immediately from himself, without any interposition of humane Authority, is the first thing to be believed as absolutely necessary to its Being and Subsistence.

But this will appear with a brighter evidence, if we consider the several branches of Jurisdiction, that as they are complicated with the supposition of Christianity, so are they such acts of Power as no Sovereign Power ever challenged, or can with any decency exercise. As the Power of Preaching the Gospel through all Nations of the World, in the Name, and by the Authority of God : The Power of granting, or with-holding the Instruments of Grace, the Sacraments of

Baptism and the Eucharist : The Power of the Keys, or judging who are fit to be admitted into the Society of the Christian Church, and who ought to be cast out of it for non-performance of the Conditions undertaken at their Admittance : The Power of instructing the People in the Duties of Religion, or guiding and directing them in the safest way to Salvation : The Power of Ordaining, Consecrating, and Constituting Ecclesiastical Officers, to succeed in the Government of the Church through all Ages. These are the several points of their Commission, and are granted to be so by Mr. *Hobbs* himself, and that at the very time when he undertakes to demonstrate, that all these acts of Power are no acts of Authority. And that is one of his choicest methods of Demonstration in all things, to bear down the undeniable Truth of all things by meer force of Assertion ; thus here he reckons up the chief Acts of Authority in the Apostle's Commission, and then will bear us down that they are no Acts of Authority, only by saying so, and that against the Common Sense of Mankind. For if they had a Commission from our Saviour to do these things, then were they Empowred and Authorised by their Commission to do them. So absurd

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is a thing is it to talk of acting by Commission without acting by Power, whereas every Commission as such, is granting so much Power. And therefore if the Apostles and their Successors were Commissioned by our Saviour to these several Acts of their Office (as he grants, because it cannot be denied) every Act is an effect of that Power that is settled upon them by virtue of their Commission. And is it not strange, that this witty Gentleman should begin all this Extravagant discourse against all Power Ecclesiastical as such, with this very Assertion, *That the Power Ecclesiastical was at first in the Apostles, and after them in such as received it from the Apostles by successive laying on of hands.* What thickness of Contradiction is this, *A Power Ecclesiastical*, and yet no Power at all ? Why then if it be no Power, it is no Power Ecclesiastical, and if it be a Power Ecclesiastical, then it is some Power. And then again a Power by virtue of our Saviour's Commission, *i. e.* a Power warranted by Divine Authority ; and to say that this is no Power, is plainly to aver, That there is no such thing as Divine Authority. And upon this supposition that lies at the bottom of all this witty Authors folly and Philosophy, it must be con-

confessed, that there can be no Ecclesiastical Power over the Christian Church, either in the Clergy or any Man else, because upon it there is neither Christian Church nor Christian Religion, and then it is certain, that there can be no Power over nothing. So vain are all the Attempts against that Authority that our Blessed Saviour has granted to the Apostolical Succession, that it cannot be removed by any other Principles, then what directly overthrow Christianity it self, upon those Terms it must be parted with, but upon no other. And though Mr. *Hobbs* speaks out more boldly then his Neighbours, yet all the followers of *Erasmus*, and all that will own a certain Form of Government establishd in the Church by Divine Right, cannot avoid the Church of *Leviathan*. And therefore to proceed with him as Fore-man to speak for all the rest, it is evident that beside the Authority, by which the Apostles and their Successors act, every act that they are enabled to by their Commission, is in its own Nature, and as such an Authoritative Act.

First, such is the power of Preaching, and Teaching, *i. e.* the power of publishing the Laws of the Gospel to all Nations, and requiring all Mens Obedience

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to them under the sanction of the greatest Rewards and Penalties. And if Mr. *Hobbs* can affirm that exacting Obedience upon such terms be no piece of Authority, it is in vain either to reason with himself, or any other Man of his Kidney or Understanding. But he proves it to be so, because *The Apostles were Preachers, and Preachers are Cryers, and Cryers have no right to Command*. Among the many bad qualities in this Author's way of writing, his contempt of other Mens understandings is none of the least, for if he had not a very low Opinion of their intellectual Abilities, he could never have presumed to impose upon them by such childish pretences. And the truth of it is, he talks, not as if he discoursed to Men, but to Magpies, Parots, and Jackdaws, that are to learn to chatter his Dictates by Rote. For is it not a strange grossness of Confidence, that when our Blessed Saviour came from God to publish a new Law to the World, and enforce it with the severest Penalties, and when he gave the same Commission to his Apostles that himself had received from his Father, to publish this Law to the World, though they do it with all this Authority to infer, that they do it with none at all, because when they declare their Message, they

they open their mouths as Cryers do when they make Proclamations, and so the original Word signifies any kind of publick Declaration. And what if it were the proper term for the Cryers Office, it may for all that, in common Speech be applyed to any other way of Publication; it will be hard to find out any one word in the World so severely stinted to its original Import. However every School-boy could have inform'd the old Philosopher that this word is not so confin'd, and that it is not, is evident from the very passage it self, because the Apostles that are said to Proclaim or Cry the Gospel to all Nations, do not make a simple Proclamation, but require Obedience to what they publish under the most forcible obligation of Rewards and Punishments. And such Proclamation as that, whatever the term Proclaiming may signifie in its naked sense, brings with it as much Authority as it is possible for Government to put in practice. But he farther affirms, in proof of no Authority in the Church, *That the Apostles and other Ministers of the Gospel are our School-Masters, and not our Commanders.* But beside that this is an Arbitrary Assertion of his own devising, to assign them the Office of School-Masters, for the Scrip-
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ture no where does so: The Authority of a School-Master is some Authority, for though he have not the Power of the Sword, he has that of the Rod, and that is as effectual for his purpose among Boys, as the other among Men. So that there is no Logique in the Argument, neither can I believe so witty a Man to have been so weak as to have brought it for that purpose, but rather because he thought the comparison was a witty slur upon Christianity, as if it were as childish and contemptible an Office to instruct men in it, as it is to teach Boys and Children their Elements of Speech. That is a shrewd hint, though the next comparison is much more poinant, *That our Saviour compares Preaching to Fishing, i. e. to winning Men to Obedience, not by coercion and punishing, but by perswasion, and therefore our Saviour calls not Apostles hunters of Men, but fishers of Men.* Now though his endeavour to prove that there is no Authority in the Officers of the Church, because they have no Civil Authority, is altogether vain and trifling, because he only presumes what no Man will grant him, that there is no other Authority in the World; yet here his way of demonstration is somewhat more then usually pleasant, viz. That they were
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endued with no power of Coertion, because our Saviour has constituted them, not his Huntsmen, but his Fishermen : Where I think it would require the Acuteness of Mr. *Hobbs's* wit to make it out, why there is less Coertion in Fishing, then in Hunting, especially in Net-fishing, which was their former Trade, to which he knows our Saviour there alludes ; when this mighty difficulty is cleared up, I may come to understand the force of the Argument, but till then, I must confess it is above my reach. But hitherto it is evident that notwithstanding all this Gentleman's Grammatical Demonstrations from Cryers, School-Masters, and Fishers, that the Commission granted to the Apostles and their Successors to preach the Gospel, did not only carry proper Authority in it, but the highest sort of Authority, because enforced with the greatest Rewards and Penalties, and that every man knows is the very Life and Soul of all Power.

The next branch of their Commission is to Baptize in the Name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, and though the Philosopher would here make himself merry, not only with the Sacrament, but with the Holy Trinity, in whose Name it is Administred, yet after all his pains

pains to prove it no Authority, he fairly confesses, *That it is an Authority either to Baptize, or refuse to Baptize, because Baptism is the Sacrament of Allegiance, of them that are to be received into the Kingdom of God.* But certainly if they have Power to grant or deny them this Sacrament, *i. e.* to receive them into the Kingdom of God, or shut them out of it, if there be any such thing as Power in the World, there cannot be a greater then this. And consequent to this Authority, he says, is the Remission and Retention of Sins, or the Power of Loosing and Binding, and for this, I must confess he gives a pertinent reason (for so he is forced to do sometimes, meerly by the truth of things against his own petulant design) *For seeing to Baptize is to Declare the reception of Men into Gods Kingdom, and to refuse to Baptize is to declare their Exclusion ; it followeth, that the Power to declare them cast out, or retained in it, was given to the Apostles, and their Substitutes and Successors.* And so it does unavoidably, for they being received upon certain conditions, those that received them upon promise of performing those Conditions, must have a standing and perpetual Power to judge of their performance, and accordingly either

ther to continue them in the Church or Kingdom of God, or cast them out. But would not one take the Man to be bereft of his Wits, that should rave and talk of nothing but the Authority and Power of these Acts, whilst he is eagerly disputing against their being Acts of Power and Authority. Such is the inconsistency of Mr. *Hobbs's* roivings, and how can he help it, whilst he would make the Testimony of the Gospel to destroy Christianity it self, for that is the folly of his undertaking in the *Leviathan*, that he would make the Christian Faith appear a forgery, and prove it so by the Scriptures. A contradiction so round, as could never have met in any Mans head that had not squar'd the Circle and Demonstratively proved from one and the same Topick, there must, and that there must not be a God. Both which he hath confidently undertaken, and in his opinion perform'd, and I believe may sooner do it, then prove the greatest Acts of Power in the World to be no Acts of Power at all.

But after Mr. *Hobbs* has, in spight of himself, granted all that Authority to the Church that he would deny, and that the Church can demand, his next work is to render it usefess and ridiculous. For
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first he would place it in the People, but that I shall not at present dispute with him or any other, that deny the distinct Power of the Church, for whether it be in the People or not is all one to their Assertion that it is no where, and the Seat of it is another question that supposes its being somewhere. Only by the way it is observable, how Mr. *Hobbs* through his whole Book shelters his Prophaneness under the then Reigning Principles of Independency; and the truth is, that wild Confusion of things is a fit Protection for all sorts of folly and wickedness. For when the Rabble are made Supreme Judges in any Cause, as they are by the Independent Principles of all Causes both in Church and State, that is breach wide enough for the *Trojan Horse* to enter, and leaves the Government of both at the mercy of all manner of Madness and Sedition. For the whole mystery of the project concludes in this, to leave every Man at liberty to do what he pleases, without being accountable for his actions to any Superiours; and that is in exprefs terms to abolish all Government, and even break up Families themselves. But though it be advantage enough to subvert the Government, it is much more to invert it: For all Resolu-
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tion of Government into the People sets the Feet upon the Head, and the part govern'd above the part governing : And the result of it, when reduced to practice, is to set up one Great and Royal Slave as a mark for the Insolence of the Multitude. And whenever they are put upon it by Ambitious Men to challenge their original Sovereignty ; if the Prince have the ill luck to fall into their hands, they will be sure to treat him with a more haughty barbarity then they would any other ordinary Person, thereby to shew the greatness of their native Power. And the wretch that durst be so impudent as to spit in his Sovereign's face, perhaps would have scorn'd to have offer'd the same Indignity to a fellow-subject ; that had been but a common act of Power, and only an affront to an equal ; but to offer so great an indignity to a Sovereign Prince, was truly becoming one that understood the native greatness of his own Birth-right, being by the original right of Nature a more absolute Prince then the greatest Monarch in the World of the Peoples Creating. So that upon these terms of putting the Supreme Power into the Hands or the Heads of the People, 'tis to tell the Subjects, that no Man has any Right or Power to Govern them, but as them-

themselves think good to be Govern'd ; that is, in a word, that they are under no Government at all.

But secondly, Mr. *Hobbs* is not content with setting this Sacred Power in the prophane Rabble, unless he make it more idle and ridiculous, as a Power of no use and effect in it self ; because, says he, *Excommunication, which is the only Penalty by which it abets it self, is of no effect upon an Apostate, having nothing of Damage or Terrour in it ; not of Terrour, because of his unbelief ; nor of Damage, because in times of Persecution he is return'd thereby into favour with the World : And in the World to come is in no worse Estate, then they which never believed.* It is an hard task to struggle against common Sense, it forces a Man in every breath to choak himself with swallowing his own words. Thus here by Excommunication, he tells us, *That a Man is put into an Estate, wherein his sins are not forgiven, and so excluded the Kingdom of Heaven.* As great a punishment as can be inflicted upon humane nature, if there be any punishment in Hell ; and yet according to Mr. *Hobbs* it is none at all, if Men will not be afraid of it. But whether they will or will not, if Christianity be not a Lye (which though he believed not, he could

not suppose, for the Discourse, if it be any thing, proceeds all along upon that supposition) the punishment is the same in it self, and has naturally the same effect. And if some Men at present are so hardy as to despise it, as some are to out-brave all the punishments of this World, till they over-reach them, yet when it comes to be actually inflicted, they feel its smart as severely as the more timorous and cowardly Offenders. But when he subjoins, that it can be of no effect in the World to come, because it puts them into no worse Estate, then they had been in, if they had never believed. Is not that a Condition bad enough ? When by his belief he obtain'd Remission of his Sins, and a Right to the Kingdom of Heaven, and when by his Apostacy he is returned back into a State of Condemnation. And is the difference of these two States so small, that the loss of one should be no Damage, and the suffering of the other no Punishment ? But beside this, the State of Apostacy is much worse then that of Infidelity, because Apostates sin more or less against the Convictions of their own Conscience, and that is the highest Aggravation of all sins, whereas Men may remain in Infidelity, through negligence, or want of enquiry, which though a fault,

is, by no means so disingenuous as acting against knowledge. But as for this Case of Apostates in time of Persecution, upon whom, Mr. *Hobbs* says, Excommunication could have no effect of Terrour. If indeed the Providence of God had not given them sufficient evidence of their Faith, I will grant it to be true, not only of that, but of all the other Threatnings of the Gospel. But if God have given sufficient motives of belief, (as if the Gospel be not a cheat, he has, if it be, all Mr. *Hobbs's* dispute is without bottom) a Man's Apostacy is no Fence against the Reflections of his own Conscience. For though it is in his Power to deny his Faith for fear of Persecution, yet it is not in his Power to disbelieve it. So that upon such a Man the Sentence of Excommunication, by which he is cast out of the Kingdom of Heaven, lights with as much Terrour as upon any other Believer. And there is nothing more evident in the History of the Primitive Church, then the Efficacy of this Sentence upon such Offenders. For the greatest part of those that fell in time of Persecution, were by this means alone recover'd to the Church, brought to sue for pardon, and undergo very severe Penances, as a satisfaction for the Scandal.

But to what purpose do I put my self to the trouble to prove these things, when all Mr. *Hobbs's* discourse upon this Argument, runs upon this supposition, as if Christianity were but a trivial and indifferent thing, that might, or might not be believed as Men variously fancied, or were casually inclined : And upon that supposition I will freely grant it to be of as little effect as he would have it. But if the Providence of God hath given us such a Demonstrative Evidence of the Divine Authority of this Religion, that no Man, who inquires into it, can wink against its Light, without doing violence to his own Convictions, then whether Men will or no, it will be a perpetual Terroure to their Consciences. And that this slight Opinion of the Evidence of Christianity (though upon what slight, and indeed ignorant pretences I have elsewhere shewn) is the bottom of Mr. *Hobbs's* meaning, is too manifest from his next branch of the Supremacy of Sovereign Powers, which indeed is neither better nor worse then bare-faced Blasphemy. And that is the Power of making Scripture Law, *i. e.* Obligatory : But if that be the state of the Christian Religion, that it is not at all material, whether a Man regard it or not, for any Obligation

tion or Authority in it self, Mr. *Hobbs* is not to be blamed, unless in point of Prudence, for all those irreverend abuses, that he has been pleased to put upon it. But if it be made Law by the Command of God, as it is, if it be not all imposture in pretending falsely to his Authority, then whatever the Sovereign is pleased to make of it, Mr. *Hobbs* and all his Followers, that will allow it no obligation but from Man, stand Convicted of the most manifest Treason and Blasphemy against the Sovereign Lord of all, and this part of Ecclesiastical Supremacy of making Scripture Law, that they give to Kings, they take away from God himself. After all this rank prophaneness, it is almost needless to consider his last branch of Ecclesiastical Power, *viz.* the Right of Ordaining, and Constituting Ecclesiastical Officers, not only because it is of the same Nature and derived from the same Divine Authority, with all the other particulars of the Apostolical Commission, but because himself grants it in general by placing it in the People. For if it be any where, that is enough against himself, that denies all manner of Power in the Church, but most of all because he has confessed (and no Man can deny it) the whole truth of the matter both against the

Hobbs and the Independant too; viz. That the Apostles conveyed their Authority to their Successors, whom themselves Deputed and Ordained by Imposition of hands, and if so, this Power of constituting Successors resided in them alone, because no Man could be constituted an Officer in the Church, but by their Imposition of hands, or those to whom by it they Transmitted their Power. So that whatever interest they might permit the People in their Choice or Nomination of their Officers, the whole power of Constituting them in their Office and Authority lay in themselves alone.

§. IV. But Mr. *Hobbs* having hitherto treated of the Power Ecclesiastical, as it stood before the Conversion of Kings, and Men endued with Sovereign Civil Power; and after his rate of Demonstration proved it to be no Power at all whilst vested in the Pastors of the Church; he comes now to prove, that it is lodged in Civil Sovereigns, upon their Conversion to the Christian Faith, and that when it comes to them, it becomes true and proper Power. But before I consider his small Arguments, I cannot understand why that which was no Power before, becomes Power now: There can be but one

one reason for it, and that is too obvious in all Mr. *Hobbs's* Writings, viz. Because it is now abetted with the Penalties of this life, whereas before it was only abetted with the Penalties of the life to come; so that the plain *English* of the Assertion, if spoken out, is this, that there are no penalties at all but in this life, and then I must confess, that the power of the Church can be no Power till complicated with the Civil Power. But the man that discourages upon such Principles as these, has nothing to do with the Christian Religion, or any thing relating to it. But secondly, Which way came this Power into Civil Sovereigns? Our Saviour left it to his Apostles, and they delivered it down by Imposition of Hands to others, who were to convey it in the same manner of Succession through all Ages, how then came Civil Sovereigns by it? If any were Ordain'd to it, they had it by virtue of their Ordination, not their Right of Sovereignty; if they were not, which way could they become possessed of a Power, that was never derived to them in the way of Ordination, which is the only way in which it can be conveyed, and therefore if they have it not that way, they can never have it any other. As for the Principle upon which

which he founds this Power of the Civil Sovereign, though it be true in it self, yet it is no proper reason for what he would infer from it, *viz.* That the Right of judging what Doctrines are fit for Peace, and to be taught the Subjects is in all Common-wealths inseparably annexed to the Sovereign Power Civil. This is undoubtedly true, that they are the proper Judges of what conduces to the peace and quiet of Government; but then this Power is common to Heathen as well as Christian Sovereigns, they are all equally concern'd, and obliged to take care of the Publick Peace; so that this Power does not accrue to the Civil Sovereign by his becoming Christian, but was antecedently and inseparably annex'd to the Sovereign Power. And therefore 'tis but a vain distinction that Mr. *Hobbs* makes of the Ecclesiastical Power of Princes, before and after the Conversion of Civil Sovereigns. When before it, they have all a right of judging what Doctrines are fit for Peace, that being inseparably annex'd to all Sovereign Power; and after it, they have no more as Sovereign Princes. And then if the Ecclesiastical Power rested in the Apostles and their Successors before the Conversion of Civil Sovereigns, it must do so ever after,
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for they could not lose that Power that was left them by our Saviour, any other way, but by his own actual transferring it to another; which he having not done, it continues, as and where it was first settled. So that Sovereigns as Christian, as they lose no Power they gain none, their Power is in both Cases Supreme from the nature of Sovereignty. But beside all this, because they have a right to judge of all things, as far as they concern the Civil Peace, it is an inference that only becomes Mr. *Hobbs's* Principles, to conclude that this gives them a power of judging what is fittest to promote the Salvation of their Subjects Souls in the World to come. And yet that is the true and proper Province of Ecclesiastical Power, so to guide and govern the Church in this World, as to bring the Members of it to Heaven hereafter. And that is somewhat more then merely to provide for the Civil Peace, and therefore a right to that, cannot give any right to this, especially when it is by express Commission settled in another order of Men. All True Religion is indeed very serviceable to the Interests of Peace and Government, and so far it concerns the Civil Power, as such, to abett its force with Civil Laws. But then it
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has a much farther prospect into the World to come, and the care of that is committed by our Saviour to a particular Order of Men Consecrated to that Office. How this Power comes not to interfere with the Civil, but is subject to it, will be shewn in the next place, but our present business is only to assert its Right. And that is so apparent from the whole design and nature of Christianity, that it cannot subsist without it. For if our Saviour enacted the Christian Law and founded the Christian Church, not by Civil but Divine Authority; if he Instituted the Apostles and their Successors to govern it, then their Right of Government stands upon the same bottom with the truth of Christianity. And if it be true that the Christian Church was planted in the World by Divine Authority, it is as true, that they have a right to Govern it by the same Authority. This is so undeniable to common Sense, that Mr. *Hobbs* has no way to avoid it, but by denying our Saviour's own Supremacy at present, in that his Kingdom is not to begin till after the Resurrection. But beside the falshood and the wickedness of the Assertion, whereby Christianity is made of no force or use in this World, in that no Man can be obliged to obey its Pre-

cepts,

cepts, because our Saviour has not power to make it Law, till he enters upon his Kingdom, and that is not till after the end of the World. Beside this, I say, who could think that any Man that reads the Gospel, could be so extravagantly foolish as to dream, that it was not intended for present Obligation, and that no Man is bound to obey any part of it before the day of Judgment, when that day is appointed on purpose for the distribution of Rewards and Punishments, according to Mens discharge of their Duty towards it? Mr. *Hobbs* would, in my Opinion, have asserted with much more modesty, that God Almighty had sent his Son into the World upon a sleeveless Errand, though that is as rank Blasphemy as can be vented; then with so much formality go about to prove out of the Holy Scriptures themselves, that his coming into it is to no purpose, because it takes no effect whilst the World lasts. This is to fasten upon the Almighty such another piece of folly, as his Politiques have run himself into in another Case, when he tells the World, that the serious belief of Religion is necessary to Government, and yet that all Religion is nothing but an Artifice of State; and then it is really no Religion, nor can be seriously believed,

lieved, and so can do no service to Government. So here he makes God himself to send his Son into the World to publish a Law, by Obedience to which, Men may purchase to themselves a State of Salvation in the World to come; and yet at the same time makes the same God to declare that this Law, for the publication whereof he sent his Son into the World, is of no force in this World to which it was publisht, and that no Man whilst he lives is under any obligation of Obedience to it. Upon this supposition would not any Man conclude, that our Saviour might very well have spared all his pains, and not have been in so much hast, and put himself to so much trouble for Enacting a Law to no purpose, but rather to have deferr'd its publication to the next World, in which it was to Commence its Use and Obligation? But the true Consequence of this Evasion is a clear Demonstration of the distinct power of the Christian Church, when there is no way to take this away but by abrogating our Saviour's own Authority. For if all Ecclesiastical Power be in the Civil Sovereign, then he has none, and so Mr. *Hobbs*, to be consistent with his Principle, says he has not, while there are Civil Sovereigns in the World.

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But if he have any, he has power to Depute what Officers he pleases, and by virtue of their Deputation they have a Power as independent upon the Sovereign Power, as that Authority from which their Power is derived. So that to take away the distinct Power of the Church, as it was settled by our Saviour upon the Apostles and their Successors, is in plain terms to deny his Power as well as theirs. For if they had a right to it at first by his Grant, and if his grant be of any Validity, they have the same for ever. So dangerous a thing is it if Men would seriously consider, to disown the Authority of the Church, it is no less then renouncing our Saviour's own Authority. And I am confident no Christian Prince would ever accept of any Supremacy of Power upon such terms, and yet if he challenge to himself, though but a share of that Power, that our Saviour has left to the Apostolical Succession, he must plainly invade that original Authority in our Saviour himself from whom they hold it. So that though we could suppose any Prince so prophane, as Mr. *Hobbs* would make all Princes, yet we cannot imagine any Man so impudent as to take up his Supremacy upon no better terms then of Renouncing his Saviour,

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for so does every one that denies his distinct Authority, and takes it to himself. So inseparably is the right of Governing the Christian Church annexed to the Apostolical Office by virtue of our Saviour's Divine Authority, that to take it from them and place it any where else, is open Rebellion against the Sovereignty of God himself.

Thus far have I consider'd the wild Consequence of that Opinion, that gives all Power in the Christian Church to the Civil Magistrate, and shewn, not only that it gives them what no Prince was ever so Extravagant as to challenge, a Power to Administer the Sacraments, a Power to Ordain Ecclesiastical Officers, a Power to do all those Offices that are known all the World over to be proper only to the Ecclesiastical Function, but withal, that it apparently takes away all Authority from our Saviour himself. And this in the Conclusion of all I must say for Mr. *Hobbs*, that though he sticks not to own all these bad Consequences, he affirms no more then what he is forced to by his first Assertion, and whoever gives the proper Ecclesiastical Power to the Civil Sovereign, if he will not own Mr. *Hobbs* his Consequences, must quit his own Assertion. And this I shall prove in

in its proper place, upon all the followers of *Erastus*, that will not acknowledge any form of Ecclesiastical Government settled by Divine Right, they must Renounce their Christianity, and be Baptized into the Church of *Leviathan*.

§. V. And now having avoided these two dangerous extremes, one whereof destroys our Government, and the other our Religion, upon the supposition of the Truth of the Premises, there are, and ever must be in all Kingdoms and Commonwealths, where Christianity is Entertain'd and Protected, two distinct Jurisdictions, so as that if we confound them both together, or that either invade or intrench upon the other, it is as much as our Christianity is worth, and the wrong either way will light at last upon our Saviour's own Authority. For if the Priest challenge any Temporal Jurisdiction, as derived from our Saviour; beside the violation of the Rights of Sovereign Powers, he directly affronts his Masters own Government, and in effect disclaims it. For his Kingdom is purely Spiritual, and he becomes our Lord and Saviour by virtue of his Supremacy over it; and therefore to pretend to any Power of another Nature from him as head of his Church,

is the thing that I charge with turning Christ into *Mahomet*, and forces upon him in spite of his own Protestation against it, a Temporal Dominion. Which is such an abuse of his Institution, and such a contradiction to his whole Design, that to call him Impostor would not be a greater Blasphemy. For this implies no less than that under pretence of such a Religious and Innocent design of erecting a Kingdom but not of this World, he really intended no other Design then to advance an Universal Empire over all the World, and all the Sovereign Powers of it. And on the other side, if a Sovereign Prince shall assume to himself the Exercise of that Power, that is peculiarly vested in the Governors and Officers of the Church, and so take upon him the sole Government of it as such, instead of Governing the Church he destroys it, when every Church as a Church is capable of no other Government, then what was delegated to the Apostolical Office by our Saviour's own special Commission, after the full settlement of the Rights of Sovereign Princes. So that after this, for them to take it to themselves, is to act not only without, but against our Saviour's own express Commission, when he has so particularly appropriated that Pow-

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er to another Order of Men. Neither is it only an encroachment upon our Saviour's own Authority, but an assuming of it to himself. In that the Prince thereby Challenges the Supreme Government of our Saviour's Kingdom, without any Commission from him, and then has it by virtue of his own Title, and not of our Saviour's Grant, and then is our Saviour plainly turn'd out of his Kingdom, and another seated in his Throne.

Now this being the true State of the Christian Church, the grand difficulty that follows upon it, and that has hitherto so much puzzled most Men in this Debate, is the danger of Competition between two Supreme Powers. For if they happen to contradict each other, as of late time they have too often done, who shall over-rule? If a man obey his Prince contrary to the Prescription of his Spiritual Guide, he may endanger his Soul; if he obey the Bishop, he disobey his Prince, and thereby forfeits his Neck to Justice. This Knot is thought so difficult, that instead of untying it, it is generally cut asunder, and the competition avoided by denying the distinction. Thus the *Romanists* that are the high flying Assertors of Ecclesiastical Power, unanimously confine all the Power of Sovereign

reign Princes to things Secular, and take away all Authority from them in matters Ecclesiastical. And on the other side, the greatest part of those that Assert the Royal Supremacy, deny any Jurisdiction at all in Ecclesiastical Officers, making their whole Function meerly Ministerial, or nothing but a right to perform and administer the Offices of the Church, but as for any Power or Jurisdiction in it, they have none but what is granted by the Civil Magistrate. But both these run into all the fore-mention'd ill Consequences, the first by denying the King's Supremacy over all things within his own Dominions : The second by denying our Saviour's Supremacy over his Catholick Church in all places, by which he has every where settled a Power in his Deputies, distinct from the Power of Princes ; so that either of these Extremes, howsoever minc'd and stated, still carry us upon the same Precipice. Though this difficulty becomes so much the more nice, because of the more Ancient Possession of Sovereign Powers : in that before the Institution of the Christian Church they govern'd their Kingdoms without Competitors ; and therefore have reason to be jealous of this new Authority, as an encroachment upon their
old

old Sovereignty. For whereas before the setting up of this, the whole and sole Power within their Dominions was in themselves, now they seem to enjoy but a kind of divided Empire, and see another erected in it, backt by no less Authority then the immediate and miraculous Power of God himself, and that is greater then the greatest Power upon Earth ; so that by it they seem not only to be rivall'd but over-topt in their Authority. That is that Providence that had hitherto made them Supreme under it self within their own Dominions, seems hereby to introduce a Superiour Power over their Heads, by his own more immediate Institution. All which seems to be an unavoidable contradiction to the first Principle that I have laid of a Christian Church, that it makes no alteration or abatement of the Rights of Sovereign Princes. But all these difficulties as big and as dreadful as they may appear at first view, are clearly scatter'd by one very easie and obvious consideration.

And that is, that the Christian Church, as it is endued with no Temporal Authority, or Power of the Sword, so all the Authority that it has is founded upon the Cross of Christ, and that obliges all that own it to a more entire and resign'd

submission to Civil Government, then Men could have been brought under by any other way without its Institution. So that the Erection of our Saviour's new Kingdom within the Kingdoms of the Earth upon the Doctrine of the Cross, is so far from defrauding Sovereign Princes of their Ancient Authority, that it is its greatest improvement and inforcement; but especially it makes the Power of Christian Sovereigns more absolute then all other Powers that are not Christian, and even to these it raises their Sovereignty higher then it was before, over all their Christian Subjects, by binding them to a stricter Allegiance then their own Laws; and of all other Christians, those that have the highest Authority in the Church are obliged by their very Office to the most humble, peaceable, and absolute submission to the worst of Governments. All which considerations render Christianity the most easie of any Religion in the World for compliance with the peace and quiet of Government.

And first, as for the Notion of the Doctrine of the Cross, it is singular to Christianity. For all other Religions both of Jews and Gentiles had some Worldly interest twisted with them; but our Saviour to avoid all mixtures of Hypocrisie,
abstracts

abstracts his Institution from all considerations, unless of the World to come. And therefore first Erects his Kingdom, not only without any Promise of any advantages of this life, but to let his followers know what they were to trust to by the Principles of his Religion, with a certain assurance of the loss of all the comforts of life, and at last life it self. So evident is it from the original Constitution of the Christian Church, that it is so far from giving Men any claims of Worldly Interest, that meerly as they are Christians, they are obliged, whenever they are called to it, to renounce them all. And this Doctrine lying at the Foundation of Christianity, our Saviour was careful to settle it in the first place. When he gives his Disciples their first Commission to preach the Gospel to all Nations, that is the first Condition that he teaches them to require of all Profelytes, *He Matth. 10. that taketh not up his Cross and followeth after me, is not worthy of me. i. e. He Mark 8. 34. that takes not up his Religion upon condition of taking up the Cross too, is not true Christian. By which expression of taking up the Cross, is signified the under-going of all kind of Calamities, of which the Cross was the greatest, being the most shameful and most painful punishment,*

nishment that was used at that time : And therefore *Plato* in his Description of a perfect good Man, that nothing shall fright out of his Duty and Conscience, says of him, that when he has suffered all miseries, he will endure to be Crucified too. So that the meaning of our Saviour's words is plainly this, Let no Man expect any Worldly profit by following me, and therefore not pretend that I gave him any ground for it ; but on the contrary, such is the nature of my Institution, that whoever will undertake it, it must be upon no less condition then this, that he be willing and ready to suffer all manner of Persecutions for it, even the scandalous death of the Cross it self. So plain is it, that Christianity when it meets with any Opposition, is to maintain it self by nothing but suffering to use no weapon but the Cross, and Men that are indispensably obliged to such an absolute submission, are sufficiently tyed up, if any such thing be possible, from creating any disturbance to the Civil State ; for what greater security can be contrived against that, then that Men should be bound by the first Principle of their Religion, with meekness and cheerfulness to resign up their Lives to the pleasure of the Government. So it is in the case

case of Christianity, they have nothing to plead but their own innocence, and if that will not satisfy, they have no Authority from our Saviour to upbraid the Power that condemns them, and Remonstrate to the Justice of the Court, but instead of that are obliged to undergo its Sentence as he did with all manner of meekness and silence. Here is no disputing the Commands of Princes, whether right or wrong, nothing but absolute submission to their most unjust and illegal Proceedings, much less any opposition to their most unwarrantable Commands, nor any weapon of defence but laying down their Lives after their great Masters Example in submission to the Government. This is the true and honest state of the Christian Church, that every Man be faithful to the Laws of his Religion, and if he suffer for it, he shall be compensated with those Rewards that his Religion Promises, and that is compensation enough for all that he can suffer in this World ; and if he take it not up with this condition, it is not the Christian Religion that he takes up, for it is no Christian Religion without the Cross. And so our Saviour has all along stated the matter upon all occasions. And it being so stated, it is easie to understand, how

how in cases of the greatest competition, both Powers so prevail at the same time, as to attain both their respective Ends. For by it the Civil Power must over-rule as to all effects of this life, and when it is to be thus gently submitted to in its most unjust Decrees, that is a full security of the Peace and Quiet of this World, and that is the proper end for which it was instituted. And the Spiritual Power attains its effect, as to the World to come, *i. e.* the salvation of the Souls of Men by their Conscientious Loyalty to their Saviour and his Laws; and that is all that it aims at, and that every Professor of it ought to pretend to. This is so plain and evident in the whole practice of the Primitive Church, that one would wonder that any Man should ever dream that true Christianity could any way interfere with Civil Government. For when the Powers of the World at that time, particularly the Governors of the *Roman* Empire, being under a mistaken apprehension that the new Christian Religion aim'd at Innovation in Government, endeavour'd by all the methods of Cruelty to stop its progress, the Christians who were all bound openly to profess their Faith, and some of them to propagate it in publick, notwithstanding

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all that bloody opposition that was made against it, went on in their work without creating any the least disturbance to their Governors, unless what they gave themselves by their own needless outrage against them. For all that they did in their own defence was only to declare, that how much soever they were displeased with the Christian Religion, they could have no ground or provocation to persecute it, because it was not only by its Laws, but by its very Constitution, in the first place tender of all the Rights of Civil Government; but if notwithstanding that they were resolved to proceed against them, they had nothing more to say or do for themselves, then to lay down their Lives with all possible meekness, in submission to their Royal Will and Pleasure, and hoped they would not take it for any piece of stubbornness or affected disobedience, that they would not Renounce their Faith, nor quit their hopes in the Kingdom of Heaven, out of compliance with their Commands, when they saw them so much in good earnest as to be ready to lay down their Lives out of pure submission to their Authority. Such a competition as this cannot be avoided upon the supposition of the real Truth of Christianity, but then

upon

upon supposition of its Nature, it is impossible that it can be any way prejudicial to Civil Government, to which by its obligation to peaceable suffering under it, it cannot avoid to discharge its whole duty of subjection to it. If it be said, that though this is the real state of Christianity in it self, it cannot be expected that its Professors should be so perfect and so free from passion, but that they may be provoked to resistance by Oppression. To this it is easily answered, that how much soever the Christian Religion allows for other infirmities of Flesh and Blood, this is open defiance and contradiction to it; so that the Man that pretends to Christianity, and yet can be prevail'd upon by any Temptation to entertain one thought of it, is a Villain, a Cut-throat, a Traytor, and a Rebel, not only against his King, but his Saviour. And therefore whenever Princes are encountred with any pretences whatsoever of disturbance upon the account of Religion, for that very reason alone they ought to cut them off as the most incorrigible and most unpardonable sort of Traytors. And if they are Christians themselves, and have any kindness for the honour of their Religion, to make such shameless pretenders to it, the Examples

amples of their utmost severity, it is the very top of all Blasphemy, as well as Rebellion. In short, there can be nothing more evident then this, that Christianity it self, as it is founded upon the Doctrine of the Cross, can never do any harm to Civil Government, so if it be ever abused and prophaned to such designs, they that do it are the worst of Villains, that deserve the utmost punishment that can be inflicted upon them in this life, and will be sure to meet with it in the life to come. And that I think is all that it is possible for any Law to do, to deterr those that it would oblige from offending against it, by all the Penalties that God or Man can inflict.

§. VI. But secondly, beside this general Doctrine of the Cross, that cuts up the very Roots of all resistance to Lawful Powers, there are great numbers of particular Laws, peculiar to this Religion, that lop off all its Branches and Pretences, by advancing the Reverence that is due to Authority; and requiring from all that profess any Obedience to that, a more accurate Obedience and Subjection to their Governors, then their Governors could have obliged them to by their own Authority. So that of all Men the Christian

lian must be the best Subject by his very profession ; so far is he from being brought under any probable Temptation of disrespect to his Superiours by his Christianity, that by that, be his Governours what they will, *Caligula's*, *Nero's* or *Domitian's*, he is bound by a new obligation, under no less penalty than the Divine displeasure, to give them the highest honour and the lowest subjection. It were an endless work to enumerate all passages in the Holy Scripture to this purpose, it being more frequently and more earnestly urged then any other duty, because (as Mr. B. very well observes in his Book of the Lawfulness of Rebellion)

Holy Common-wealth
Thes. 377.

Every Man is naturally selfish and proud, and apt to break the bounds that God hath set us, and to be Kings and Laws to our selves. This Rebelling disobedient disposition therefore should be first resisted and subdued, as a greater Enemy to the Peace of Nations, then the faults of Princes are. And therefore I shall alledge one or two of the most pregnant Texts against it, to shew both the Impudence and Impiety of those Men, and himself in particular, who dare Reconcile any Pretence to Christianity with the least disrespect to Sovereign Powers. And whilst they lay claims to greater Holiness and Purity
them

then their Neighbours, are putting continual slights and affronts upon their Governours, and whenever they can gain an opportunity by the assistance of the Rabble, blush not with all their demureness to wrastle with them for their Supremacy. Which is such a rank piece of Blasphemy, such a bare-faced appearance of *Antichrist*, *Mahomet* and *Hildebrand*, as no good Christian can sufficiently abhor, nor any wise Magistrate sufficiently punish. Though the greatest affront of all, is to the Holy Scriptures themselves ; for when they have so clearly and severely forbidden all Resistance to Supreme Powers ; when the Rules that they have given in this case are so absolute and universal to prevent all Evasion ; when beside the great Authority of the Command it self, they enforce it by its own wisdom and reasonableness ; in a word, when it is tyed upon us by all the strongest Obligations both of Power, Interest, and Ingenuity, after all this to escape the force of a Law so carefully Enacted, is to pass an open slight upon the Wisdom of the Legislator himself. But to make these very Precepts that were given on purpose to cut off all pretences of Resistance, so many Warrants and Commissions given to Subjects for raising Rebellion against

gainst their Sovereigns, as has been done in our Age, exceeds all the Impiety of Men, nay of Devils too, in all former Ages.

For what can be more clearly and fully express'd then St. Paul's Discourse to the Romans, chap. 13, *Let every Soul be subject to the higher Powers; for there is no Power but of God. The Powers that now are, are ordain'd of God. Whosoever therefore resisteth the Power, resisteth the Ordinance of God: and they that resist shall receive to themselves Damnation, &c.* Here is no Restriction, no Reservation, 'tis the Catholique Duty of all Mankind, and stands upon such reasons as equally effect all. And first from the Original of all Authority, *It is from God.* It is not said, because those in Power were either the best or the wisest Men; but be the Men what they will, they have their Authority from God himself, and for that reason he requires subjection to them as to himself, and therefore looks upon all resistance to these his Vicegerents, as an affront to the Authority of his own Commission: *Whosoever resisteth the Power, resisteth the Ordinance of God.* And then no wonder if the Judgment of God follow upon it: *And they that resist shall receive to themselves Damnation.* But
though

though this Argument from the Divine Original of Government be so strong an enforcement of this Duty, yet the Apostle goes on to tie it harder, and that is from its End, the Good of the Subject: *For he is the Minister of God to thee for good.* And common Sense will tell us, that submission to the worst Princes, is much more the Interest of the Subject then Rebellion against them. So that how much harm soever a Tyrannical Prince may bring upon a *Common-wealth*, he does it more good, though it were only by being a Bar against the Miseries of War and Confusion. And common experience will confirm the Wisdom of St. Paul's Argument, that be the Governors the worst that can be, and so they were at that time; yet their Government in spite of their own folly and wickedness is highly beneficial to the *Common-wealth*, and in that every private mans Interest and Property is comprehended. Now from both these Premises the conclusion is unavoidable: *Wherefore ye must needs be Subject not only for Wrath, but for Conscience sake.* That is, not only for fear of the King and his Laws, but out of sense of duty to that God by whose Authority Kings Reign; and who has bound upon our Consciences the duty of Subjection
to

to them. Now one would think it impossible for Men to escape from the obligation of so clear a Law ; and so it is, till they lay aside the natural Sense and Ingenuity of Mankind ; and then indeed Mens Consciences are arm'd against all Conviction, and so it happens among us, that as once much learning made this great Apostle mad, so now much Religion makes him a Fool. For so we are told that we must not think that he would be so silly as to abett the Wickedness of Tyrants, *Non ut Neronem aut Tyrannum quemvis alium supra omnem legem & pœnam constituendo, crudelissimum unus Imperium in omnes mortales constabileret* ; that he would not set up Nero or any other Tyrant above all Law and Punishment, and establish the cruel Dominion of one above all. And therefore we must distinguish between the King's Person, as a Man *in Concreto* (to express it in Mr. *Rutherford's* words, though it is the Sence of all the Monarchomachists) and as a King and his Office *in abstracto*, the Person may be resisted, though not the Office, because if the Person govern not by Law and Justice, he ceases to be a Lawful Power. But to what purpose is it for God to make Laws, if Men may evacuate their force by such Metaphysical

Lix Rex
Q. 29.

fical Nothings. ? For how can we submit to the Office of a King, but by submitting to the King himself ? If the Office it self could Govern without him, then it might be the safest way to stick to the *Abstract*, but seeing it cannot subsist without the *Concrete*, he that commands to submit to the Office, commands us to submit to the Man in whom it is, or he commands us nothing. So that this is really no better then prophane trifling with the Word of God, when we are in plain and expresse terms commanded to make no Resistance to our Governors, to get loose from so useful a Law, by such childish and senseless Trifles as plainly contradict the Law it self. For whereas the only design of such Laws is to preserve the Peace of humane Societies, by such evasions as these, all Men are left at liberty to disturb it as they please, notwithstanding all the Laws in the World that ever were, or ever can be made against it. And therefore I would advise these Men that can cheat and lullaby their own Consciences with such Rattles as these, either to lay aside their Metaphysicks or their Religion, because such niceness and subtilty makes it a thing of no Use in the practice of the World. For if there were no such

Laws at all, Men would be under no greater restraint from the Sin, then they are now by the most effectual Laws, that it is possible for God himself to lay upon them. Men that can use such abusive and prevaricating shifts to escape their plain Duty, are arrived either to too great Prophaneness, or too high Enthusiasm to be admitted to the Rights of common Christianity. They serve their Saviour just as they do their Prince, they obey him *in abstracto*, and Rebel against him *in concreto*; they submit to his Laws when themselves think it convenient, but when they do not, they then cease to be his Laws. This is the unavoidable result of these thin and precarious distinctions, that Religion, if Men will, shall be of no use or force in the practice of the World.

But secondly, this is down-right Childrens play, and make all Laws whatsoever ridiculous; when it leaves it to those who are commanded absolute submission, to judge when submission is fit, and when not. Do but once allow that Liberty, and after that all the Laws injoyning this Duty can never command any thing. For after they have commanded all that can be commanded, every Man will be as much at liberty to do what he pleases,

as he was before, being sole Judge of the fitness of his Subjection. But if he be Judge of that, he is not bound, and if he be bound, he is not Judge, but is absolutely bound. In our present case, what can the Apostles Command signifie, when he peremptorily and indefinitely requires subjection to the Higher Powers? *i. e.* say these Statesmen to all Powers that govern by Law, and none else. This makes the Subjects the Supreme Judges of the Government, not the Governors themselves; for by it, whatever these do or Command, it is of no Authority then as the Subjects judge it Legal, and if they do not, they are at liberty to Resist and Rebel. And if this be so, St. Paul would deserve to be laughed at, for being so serious in enforcing a Law that can never bind, whilst he commands Subjection or Non-resistance to higher Powers, when the Subjects after that, have full Power in themselves to determine to what higher Powers they will or will not resist. Such Non-sence lyes at the bottom of all Rebellion; for if Men are at all bound to submit to their Governours, they are bound to submit to all; if not to all, then not to any, because the Power of Resistance is, by this poor Republican Principle, at last wholly left

to their own Judgment, and then they are subject to no Authority but themselves, and their own Wills.

But thirdly, if a King ceases to be the higher Power, or to be a Lawful King, whenever he does not act according to Law, or whenever his Subjects shall apprehend so, how is it possible there should be any settled Government or Society among Mankind; when it is so plainly impossible, but that there must be miscarriages as long as Kings are Men; and much more misapprehensions of the Government as long as the People are the People? So that the design of these Men that advance such Niceties as these, is apparently nothing else, then to render all Government an impracticable thing. For what security or settlement can it ever have in the World, when by such lavish Principles as these, Subjects are impowred, may always Authorised to subvert the present Government? For whatever the present Government is, it will have defects enough; and that which is worse, the fewer it has, the more it will be complained of. For there is never so much noise of Grievances and Oppressions, as under the kindest and the justest Princes; in such happy times, I know not by what unhappy fate Men run Mad

with

with Insolence, out of meer Vanity and Wantonness. And it is observable in all Histories, that good Kings have suffered more from the fury of the People then Tyrants and Oppressors. So unfortunate and unruly a Beast is the Community of Mankind, that nothing can make them happy; and when they enjoy so great a Blessing as a kind Government, they will destroy both that and themselves too, only to trample upon its kindness. But however upon this Principle that Kings may be resisted, and so unking'd when they are supposed not to govern according to Law, both good and bad must make a daily forfeiture of their Crowns; and there never can be any such thing as Government in the World, unless God himself would be pleased to forsake Heaven, and settle a Visible Throne among us here on Earth. And yet if he should, though he would fall into no miscarriages, he could never escape from the complaints and murmurings of such Men as these. Their only delight and happiness is to be finding fault, and were they in Heaven it self, they would be peevish and discontented. Good God purge thy Church from such sower Leaven as this! that has for so many years fermented all Chri-

stendom into restless Tumults and Rebellions, and has at length by its violent and eager rage, work't out the very Spirit and Life of Christianity.

But lastly, this Principle does not only lead to confusion, but is confusion it self, because it takes away the very Being both of Government and Subjection. For if the Subject may resist when the Prince does not govern according to Law, Who is to be Judge of that; if the Prince, he will be sure to judge for himself, and that destroys the Principle that these Men proceed upon: If the People are the Supreme Judges, then they cease to be Subjects, and are made the Sovereign, for wherever the Supremacy of Judgment resides, there is the Sovereign Power. So that by this Principle, there is no avoiding the absurdity of setting at the same time the Prince above the People, and the People above the Prince; and so I remember *Junius Brutus* has done in the very Title Page of his Book: *De Principis in Populum, Populiq; in Principem legitimâ Potestate*. Of the Lawful Power of the Prince over the People, and the People over the Prince. But sure if one be above the other, then the other can have no power over that which is above it, or if they are both

both endued with the Supremacy of Power, then they are Equals, and Equals have no Power over Equals, for if they have, they are not Equals. There is no way of Reconciling this Reciprocal Superiority of Inferiours above Superiours, and Superiours above Inferiours; but his Poets way, who recommending this worthy work to his dear Countrey of *France*, he advises her for the Cure of all her present Breaches and Distempers, to keep the Power both of the King and the People within due bounds, and then all will be well again.

*Haud aliter, legum populo dum frænâ relaxas,
Dum Regis solvis vincula, tota ruis.
At Populum & Regem solitis in sistis lupatis,
Ilicet antiquus restituetur honos.*

Now if the Poet or the Politician could but have found out such a Person as *France*, distinct from and Superiour to both King and People, to adjust their mutual Rights, then I must confess it might have been possible to reconcile this Project to common Sense, but without it, every Child can see that it is meer Non-sense and Contradiction.

Mr. *Rutherford* has one shift more upon this Argument, that I will be so ingenuous as to set down, though I must confess

confess I know not how to Answer it, and I doubt no Man will ever attempt its solution. - And that is this, if this Proposition be Universal, that it is unlawful to resist Kings in any Case, *Then when King David deflowered Barthsheba, she might not lawfully have resisted him with Bodily Resistance and Violence, and if she had, David might have said to Barthsheba, because I am the Lords Anointed, it is Rebellion in thee a Subject, to oppose any bodily violence to my act of forcing thee; it is unlawful for thee to cry for help, for if any shall offer violently to rescue thee from me, he resisteth the Ordinance of God.* One would think that these Men design'd nothing else, then to prophane and ridicule the Scriptures; for how else could it ever have come into any Man's head to parallel Rebellious Resistance to the Commands of Sovereign Power, with not yielding to a Rape? If the Man had intended mirth and entertainment by the conceit, it might have pass't for a prophane Jest; but to be grave and serious, nay fierce and eager in such smutty impertinencies, turns the whole matter into down-right folly and dulness. And yet our great *English Divine R. B.* has very much outbid the *Scotch Divine* in the Improvement

ment of the Notion, inferring from hence (as he says) a *fortiori*, that we are much more bound, when unjust and unchast Kings would commit Rapes upon their Parliaments, to rescue them by force and violence from their Lascivious Attempts. And so it is evident that in the long-Parliament-Rebellion against his late Majesty, they were so far from doing or intending any harm to the King himself, that they only kept him off from doing violence to the Chastity of the Houses. So easie is it for these sort of Men to find pretences or excuses for Treason, that no similitude can be so light or trivial, but that it shall have weight and sense enough to bear them out in all their enormities. Though I must confess, that of all Men that ever I met with, this holy, this mortified, this daily dying Saint, has exceeded them all in the licentiousness of his Principles, and the prophaneness of his Talk upon this Argument. As for my own part, I cannot think what to make of some Mens Consciences; for I cannot imagine that Men who pretend to great zeal for Religion, and take mighty pains (as they think) to promote it, who say that they live in a daily expectation of speedy death, and a future Judgment, should be stubborn and

and resolute Atheists. And yet I can as little conceive that Men, who are serious in the belief of these things, should through the habitual course of their Lives, do such things for the disturbance both of Church and State, as are plainly inconsistent with any sense or design of integrity. I know pride and passion may Transport Men into strange actions, but then those are as great Crimes themselves, as any that they can hurry them into. But that they should carry Men, that mean honestly, into such a constant course of life, as no Charity can reconcile with any Principles of Integrity, is the thing that I say lies beyond my comprehension.

Thus in our particular Case of Non-resistance (which is one of the greatest Cases of Conscience in the World) tho there is not, nor cannot be a clearer Precept in all the Bible, then this of St. Paul's, against all manner of Resistance to Sovereign Princes ; yet has this unhappy Man so stated the bounds of due Obedience, and lawful Resistance from its Authority, as in the result of all, not only to evacuate all its Obligation, but to make it the very Warranty from Heaven of all Popular Rebellions. Thus he tells us plainly, that all resistance is not
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here forbidden (though the Apostle says in exprefs terms, that whoever resists shall be damn'd; and that I think is all Resistance) *For there is a Resistance contrary to Subjection, and that is forbidden: And there is a Resistance not contrary to Subjection, and that is not forbidden.* Now he that can Reconcile Resistance and Subjection together, may at the same time be a Rebel and a good Subject, especially as Mr. B. has stated it. For having distinguish'd between Resistance lawful and unlawful, he makes it lawful in so many Cases, and unlawful in so few, as makes it so in all. Thus *Thef. 340,* he says, *That if a Prince Command his Subjects beyond his Limits, resistance in such a case is not to resist the Power, but the Will of a private Man.* The very same Assertion with Rutherford's, that if he govern according to Law, we are bound to submit, but if he exceed those bounds, that the Law has left him, then Resistance and Rebellion are no sins. Such a wilful blindness is it in these Men, that, that they cannot see the middle way of subjection that lies between Obedience and Resistance ; for when I cannot Obey, I can and ought to Submit, but Resist I cannot without Rebellion. And that is the Subjects Duty in all unlawful Commands,

mands, though he cannot obey, he can be quiet and peaceable, nay he can do any thing to remove or redress the Grievance, but resist the Government. When a Kingdom is blest with good Laws, it concerns Subjects to be tender of their Preservation by all fair and regular means; but if they once Rebel against their Prince in defence of their Laws, they lose both, by the Dissolution of the Government; for when that is gone, and it is certain that all Rebellion aims at its destruction, the Laws lye dead, and can do them no Service. And therefore there is no one Law so beneficial to the Subject, as the Fundamental Law of Sovereignty, that it is irresistible; the security of the publick Government is the last security of every Man's Liberty and Property. But if it be once invaded, we are immediately in a state of War, and then no Man can have any thing that he can call his own. But of that when I come to discourse of the Reason, and the Wisdom of Non-resistance; here it is enough to observe that these Men are so perverse as to acknowledge no middle way between actual Obedience and actual Rebellion; whereas the peculiar design of these Precepts is to fix our duty, when we cannot obey, in Submission or Non-resistance.

resistance. But here Mr. B. has a subtle Notion that will baer out his Innocence, though he wade up to the Knees in Blood, and to the Elbows in Rebellion; and that is, *That not obeying is the first and chiefest resisting*, and therefore if one be Lawful, so is the other, and then whenever we cannot Lawfully Obey, we may Lawfully Resist. An admirable Notion this! to set all the World on fire, to make no difference between meer Non-obedience and cutting of Throats, for that I take it is making some kind of Resistance, yet by Mr. B's Principle, bare not obeying is more so, being *The first and chiefest act of Resistance*. What cannot these Men break their Consciences to, that can out of the duty of Passive Obedience infer the Obligation, or at least the Lawfulness of actual Resistance, because forsooth Passive Obedience is the first and chiefest act of actual Resistance. I pray God deliver his Church from such Apostate Divines, and his Anointed from such Rebel Subjects. But now are we come to the very Fort-Royal of the Presbyterian Rebellion, *Thesis 352*. If a Nation (that is, as he all along explains himself, its representative Body) wrong their King, it is not Lawful for him to right himself by War, because it is against the

the Common Good, of which the Representatives are the only Judges, by *Thesis* 356, 357, 358, 367. That is to say, that supposing the Parliament of Forty One had offer'd the King all those Injuries and Indignities, that he so justly complained of; yet when he went about to recover and assert his Sovereignty by force of Arms, it was fighting against the Common Good, and Representative Body of a Nation, in which all Men are bound to Resist him, because they are all bound by nature to defend the Common Good. How helpless and deplorable is the condition of poor Princes, when they are wrong'd they may not defend themselves, whilst their Subjects may not only take away their Swords, but tye their Hands, and if they please to disable them forever, cut them off too for the Common Good. This is Fourty One true blew, and I think a cast beyond it. But what has a King no Remedy? No, none at all against the Representative Body of a Nation. Methinks he might Dissolve them. No, says he,

That is but to betray the Trust of the Commonwealth. Is there then no Remedy to ease themselves? Yes, yes, *If their injury be too great to be born, they may lay down their Crowns at pleasure, Crowns*

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are not like Lands, that Men hold primarily Jura Domini: They are not primarily the matter of Propriety: Government is a means to Publick Good. When any Man's possession of the Crown does cease to be a means to the Publick Good, and this without the Peoples injury, it is then his Duty to resign it, and no injury to be deprived of it: for the means is no means, when it is against the End. If a Nation injuriously deprive themselves of a worthy Prince, the hurt will be their own, and they punish themselves: but if it be necessary to their Welfare, it is no injury to him. Thank you good Mr. B. this is right Presbyterian courtesie to Kings, to grant them leave to rid themselves of the Trouble of their Crowns, and to revenge themselves too of their Rebellious Subjects, by depriving them of a worthy Prince, and punish them to purpose by resigning his Crown into their own hands. Let them take it for a warning, if he should serve them such a slippery trick, the hurt will be all their own, but not an Atom of injury to himself. Revenge they say is a sweet thing, but this makes it sweeter. then Empire, that Princes should part with their Crowns only to vex their Rebellious Subjects. However they are much obliged to Mr. B. for his

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kind advice, and I hope will return him publick thanks for this easie expedient that he has invented to ease them of all their troubles. And if we should ever be so unfortunate and abandoned of the Protection of God's Providence, as to fall into the hands of another Presbyterian Parliament, we are now provided of a certain Remedy against all the evils of a Civil War; it is but the King's resigning up his Crown, and all will be well again: He will be no loser, the Nation will have the worst of it, but 'tis no matter for that, if they will be so foolish as to punish themselves by depriving themselves of a worthy Prince. Once more thank you good Mr. B. had I any access to, or acquaintance with Kings, I would move them to settle a Pension upon you for so noble a piece of Service. But in the mean while, is not this an admirable Commentary upon *Rom. 13.* and yet it is the short result of a long discourse upon that very Text, *Resist not the higher Powers*, i.e. says he, Wring their Swords out of their Hands, and fret them till they throw away their Crowns too. But as bad as the Doctrine is, the Application is somewhat worse: For to it he has annexed a Discourse concerning the Lawfulness of the late Long-Parliament Rebellion, and the

the Reasons that moved himself to engage in a War against the King: And in it he is so far from giving any signs of Repentance, or so much as confessing any fault, that he frankly declares both his readiness and obligation to do the same thing all over again upon the same opportunity. And professes that *After the strictest Examination of his own heart* Pag. 486. *he dares not repent of it, nor forbear the same, if it were to do again in the same state of things. And that if he should do otherwise, he should be guilty of Treason and Disloyalty against the Sovereign Power of the Land.* Pag. 488. *And that if he had taken up Arms against the Parliament in that War, his Conscience tells him he had been a Traytor, and guilty of resisting the higher Powers, and incurred the danger of Condemnation threatened to Resistors in the 13th to the Romans.* Pag. 477. And in his Preface or Review, makes this bold challenge, *Prove that the King was the highest Power in time of Divisions, and that he had Power to make that War which he made, and I will offer my head to Justice as a Rebel.* But this is to piece out one wickedness with another, not only to rebel against the King, but to Depose him. Had he fought for the King against the Parliament, he had deserved to be

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hang'd for a Rebel, and had violated that Command of God, *Let every Soul be subject to the higher Powers*, and incurred the danger of that Condemnation that is there threatened to Resisters : Had been guilty of Treason and Disloyalty against the Sovereign Power of the Land, and had been a Traytor, and guilty of resisting the higher Powers. From all which it is undeniably plain, that not the King, but the Parliament are the Sovereign and Supreme Power. Which is such a contradiction to the fundamental Constitution of the *English* Government, to all the known Laws of the Kingdom, to so many reiterated Acts and Declarations of Parliaments from time to time, that as bold an affront as it is to the Law of God, it is a more impudent out-facing the Law of the Land ; so that it seems there is no other way of justifying that Rebellion, then by perverting and belying both. And if Men can allow themselves such Liberties as these, I know nothing that can keep them in any due subjection to the higher Powers, that can dispose of the Supremacy by their own Arbitrary Will and Pleasure : For where the Sovereignty of this Kingdom resides, is a thing so easily and vulgarly known, that to search it out requires no deep inspection,

spection, either into the Laws of the Land, or the Nature of Government. The Oath of Supremacy is so full a Declaration of it, that no Man, whoever took it, can after that, deny the Sovereign Power to reside in the King alone without Perjury [*That the King's Highness is the only Supreme Governour of this Realm.*] For if he be the only Supreme, there is no other Supreme, much less Superiour. I do not argue from the bare Title of Supreme Governor, * because * *Thes.* 363. that, say the Presbyterians, may be honorary, though others may share in the Power ; but from its being appropriated to the King alone. For we do not only swear that he is the Supreme Governor, but that he is the only Supreme Governor, and then we swear that neither the Parliament nor any other State of Men, whatever share they have in the Government, are the Supreme Governors.

I shall not dispute with Mr. B. or any Man of the Principles of Fourty One, of the Power of Parliaments, for be it never so great, yet unless the Oath of Supremacy be meer Perjury, I am sure it is not Superiour nor Equal to the King's, when by it he alone has the Supremacy, and then to resist him by their Authority, is Rebellion by the Law of the Land,

and Damnation by the Law of God. So impossible is it to tie Men to any Sense of Duty, that can allow themselves such an unconscionable liberty of perverting and falsifying Laws; and if this be consistent with any tenderness of Conscience, or any Pretences to Integrity, there can never be any such thing as Truth or Honesty in the World. Mr. B. declares that he is very desirous to Repent, if he have sinned, that he daily prays to God that he would not suffer him to dye impenitently in his Sin, and promises that if he could but be convinced of it, he would make publick Recantation. I verily believe that he is serious in his Protestation, and hope to live to see it perform'd, and that is my only design here to convince him (if that be possible) before it is too late. I intend not to upbraid him, or others with old Miscarriages, or to revive old Stories long since buried in Oblivion. For when his Majesty has been pleas'd in his great goodness to pardon them as to all the Punishments of this life, God forbid but that they should enjoy the benefit of his Mercy and Clemency. But I call upon them to think of Repentance out of pure tenderness and compassion to their Souls. For God never pardons Absolutely, but always upon Conditions,

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and with him, nothing less will expiate a publick Crime then a publick Repentance. And therefore I hope to see Mr. B. before he go hence, to make good his promise of making his publick Recantation, and remove that scandal that he has given to the Church of God by so foul a *Mistake* (as he calls it) and I hope it was no worse. Though I fear when this is done, he may find new matter of Repentance for slandering, and traducing the whole Church of God, and for that end perverting, and false representing all its Records, as he has done in some late Books, especially his Treatise of Episcopacy, and his History of the Councils, that are so full not only of falsification, but rank malice against all the Ancient Governours of the Christian Church (against whom he could have no other ground of quarrel then only this, that they were Bishops) that it is such a manifest disclaiming of all Truth and Integrity, as no pride or passion can excuse; and those two great faults are the only Pleas that can be made to extenuate the rankness of his malice. But here are such numberless heaps of meer falsehoods and spiteful insinuations, as could proceed from nothing better then wilful dishonesty, unless this may be pleaded

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in his behalf, viz. his gross ignorance of the things that he writes of, and that in good earnest is the best and truest Apology for him, for it is evident from his crude way of writing, that none but a very Novice in Antiquity, and an utter stranger to the true Records of the Church, could ever have betrayed himself to so unlearned a Performance. There is not any one Story in which he has not committed gross mistakes, and such as discover themselves to proceed from nothing but his unacquaintedness with the Primitive Records. And any one that can but Translate any of the Modern Collections of the Ancient Councils without looking into the Original Acts and Histories, (without which no Man can arrive to any competent knowledge in this learning) may make just such another Church-Historian as *R. B.* And therefore I would advise him, instead of boasting himself Father of Four-score Books and upwards, to have some patience and take some pains, to write one well-weighed, well-digested, and well-reviewed, before he publish it. And if his heat could but be prevail'd with to submit to so much tameness, one such discourse would outweigh, not only Four-score, but four hundred Books of Crudities.

I have insisted thus long upon this Apostolical Precept, because it is the most effectual Bulwark against Rebellion, and therefore most abused by the *Hildebrandists*, who would elude its Obligation by the several fore-mentioned shifts to evacuate the Sense of the Law it self. But now to proceed, with the Doctrine of *St. Paul* agreeable is that of the other great Apostle *St. Peter*, 1 Epist. Chap. 2. from vers. 13th to 25th. Where the same duty is laid down fully in the same express and comprehensive Terms, and with the same regard of duty to God, it must be done *For the Lord's sake*, and that is the biggest thing that can be said in this or any other Case, that Almighty God requires it forever, and as Men will own his own Authority as an indispensable Duty, and this for all the same reasons alledged by the other Apostle, and some more. Not only because their Authority is from God, and because the Institution it self is for the general Good of Mankind; and because the great Governor of the World commands Subjection to them as his Vice-Roys, under the severest Penalties both here and hereafter, but beside all this it is made necessary, because it is for the honour of their Religion, that by a meek and peaceable submission

mission to the most unjust sufferings, after their great Master's Example, they should prevent, and silence those Calumnies of his and their Enemies, as if they were disturbers of Government ; so that if they did not submit with all meekness and patience to their Superiors of what rank soever, down from Kings to Masters of Families, whether good or bad, it would have been a just scandal to their Religion.

Q. 30. But to this Mr. *Rutherford* very gravely and seriously replies, *That patient suffering, and violent resisting, are not incompatible.* That is to say, that a Man may Resist in his own defence, but if he have the ill-fortune to be overcome, he must then suffer patiently. This Patience *per force* I see is the right Presbyterian Subjection ; when their Superiours are too strong for them, they will crouch only because they must. But as long as they are able, Princes must pardon them if they defend themselves by force of Arms, though if they cannot, they will be so civil as to lay them down. And of the same kind is the Submission of Servants to harsh and cruel Masters, when they are beaten, to defend themselves with the next Cudgel that they can seize on, but if the Master prove the more able Fencer, then

then the Servant when he has lost his defensive Weapon, has no remedy left but to lye down and suffer himself to be beaten patiently, and this Patience of a *Turkish* Slave is their only true Christian Subjection ; though as the Proverb goes, It is a Vertue more suited to the Philosophy of an Horse, then the Religion of a Man. And if this be all that is injoin'd by the Apostle, it is nothing at all, for when we are commanded to suffer patiently, or not to resist, only when we cannot help our selves ; it is a very needless command, because so we must do, whether we will or no, and Patience *per force* is no Patience at all.

But beside this dull shift, we have a more acute Evasion to elude the Text, That these words were not address'd to Subjects that had the rights of their own Country, but to Strangers residing and inhabiting in such places, where they could challenge no greater rights then meerly of Courtesie and Civility. But though this is not so dull as the *Scotch* resistance, to yield when we can fight no longer, it is but another way of fooling against the expresse Sense of the Words themselves. For to say nothing of the distinction between Native Subjects and Strangers, between whom there can be

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no difference as to this Duty, then that it is stricter upon the natural Subject than the Foreigner. St. *Peter's* reason, as it makes no difference in the Point, so it admits none, because it is universal and unlimited, viz. from the peremptory Command of God, that requires submission to Kings and all their Subordinate Officers, and upon this reason it concerns all alike. And after that to let Subjects loose from the duty of Non-resistance to their Prince, because the Law was here particularly directed to such as were Aliens, though built upon, and enforced by a reason common to all Men, shews, if not the prophaneness of the Men, the badness of their Cause. Though after all, the Observation is as false, as 'tis trifling, when it is so vulgarly known, that the dispersed Jews were for the most part made Denizens of those Cities where they inhabited ; and there were very few that were not, as well as St. *Paul*, free of some City or other. And then these Jews or most of them, to whom this Epistle was written, were as proper Subjects to the Government, under which they lived, as if they had been Natives of the Province. Certainly Men must be arrived to a very slight regard towards their own Consciences, that dare shuffle

shuffle away the Obligation of such severe and Sacred Laws of God himself, with so much violence to their own Understandings. For it was impossible that Men of Common Sense, much less of Learning and Acuteness, could satisfy themselves with such trifling pretences. But, so it ever was, and so it ever will be, that as certain as Religion is at the top of all Rebellion, Atheism and Prophaneness is at the Bottom.

§. VII. But to what purpose do I take all this pains to prove the Duty of Non-resistance from the Laws of God, the Obligations of Conscience, and the Nature of Christianity, when that only convinces the *Hildebrandists* of their Impiety and Apostacy from the Christian Faith ? For what care they for that ? Religion is the least of their thought or concernment ; and though they make it the flourish to all their pretences, it is not for any kindness to that, but only to amuse the Common People, and dazle them (as Men catch Larks with Looking-Glasses) into their Party, both against themselves and their Governours. And it is evident that the Patriots and Ring-leaders of Faction have no other measures of Conscience in the Case, then only

ly interest, reason of State, and the good of the Common-wealth. And here they applaud and admire themselves with one busie and plausible pretence, that this Doctrine of absolute Submission proceeds from a natural dulness, and want of that Sense, that all Men of wit and courage ought to have of their Native Liberty, and serves no End but only the encouragement of Tyranny, inviting Princes that are of themselves ill-inclin'd, to insult over our Tameness, and how much soever they trample upon us, and our Liberties, they know we must not only endure all, but like Spaniels resent it well. Now though a wise Man would not refuse Subjection to a good natur'd or a generous Prince, yet what Man of any Spirit, can with any patience see a whole Kingdom enslaved to the insolence, or the folly, or the luxury of one Man? That (say they) is not to submit to Government, for that always takes care of the Publick Good, but instead of that, it betrays the Common-wealth to Tyranny and Arbitrary Oppression.

Now to give the utmost that these Pretenders to Politicks and Innovation can alledge, not only to justifie, but to admire themselves, and the wisdom of their Proceedings, I will freely grant that

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it may, and often does fall out, that Princes may be weak or wicked, or negligent, unskillful and unfaithful in their Government; that they may injure Multitudes of Private Persons, and neglect the Publick; that their Follies and Vices may endanger a whole Nation; and that the case is somewhat hard, that all the good People in it must be bound in Duty and Conscience, to assist and uphold that Power with Lives and Fortunes, that is nothing but Load and Oppression. This indeed is an hard case, and an inconvenience that must sometimes (though but rarely) be felt by being under Government: But alas! there are many more hard cases in the World, and much heavier inconveniences if we cast it off. So that setting aside all regard to Duty, and consulting only Interest, and though we care not to be honest, yet if we will be but a little wise, and take a true account of our own quiet and security, let these shrewd Men of Politicks, only consider, whether it will not be more easie to bear this heavy Burthen, then to cast it off with Violence to the Government; and whether by removing one present inconvenience, we do not run our selves into more, greater and more lasting. That is the only point of Wisdom and Politiques

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tiques in this case, whether submission, to the worst Government be not more easie to the Subject, then War and Rebellion. And this I think will be evident to any Man of Common Sense; if, we only consider what we lose, and what we gain by it. First, we lose our own safety, and all that we gain, is that loss. For all Government is the first security of every Man's private Interest against the Injuries and Violences of all other Men, and that will make it highly useful and beneficial at all times, though never so ill administred. For were it not for fear of Authority, every Man would be expos'd a Prey to all Men, and all Mankind would unavoidably fall into a State of War, then which State, nothing can be more defenceless and deplorable, and yet nothing but Government preserves us from it. So that when we shake off our Duty and Submission to that, we put our selves and our Families, out of all security against the Violence of all the World beside. And therefore it was

Ado. Math. l. 2. *tus Empiricus* reports to have been among the old *Persians*, that the People upon the death of any of their Kings were allow'd five days Anarchy, that by the Mischiefs, Slaughters, Rapines, Ovi-

rages, committed in that short Interval, they might be convinced of the Usefulness and Necessity of Government, and set the greater esteem upon the succeeding Prince. And if Men would but consider the great Usefulness of the worst Government, that it is a defence and protection of their own private Interests against the Invasions of wicked Men; that would soon prevail with them to bear all the inconveniencies of a bad Government, rather then blow up themselves and Fortunes together with it. For whosoever resists the Government, does what in him lies to destroy it, and when that is done, he has not only endanger'd, but certainly lost his own security. So great a gainer is every Subject that will take upon him to reform the Government by force, that he pulls up the very Fence, by which his own Inclosure and Propriety is secured. Nay though himself may be so wise as to sit down patiently under an oppressive Government; yet if he do but encourage this Doctrine of the Lawfulness of resistance to Princes, he exposes himself, as well as the Government to all the Assaults of Usurpers. For if it be Lawful for other Subjects, though they think it not wise for themselves, to take up Arms against

against the Prince, his Authority is thereby made too weak and ineffectual to be their Protection; they are exposed to the dangers of War, and lye wholly at last at the mercy of a Conquering Army, and that is the Result of all the Pleas for Resistance upon any pretence whatsoever, that they all conclude in Anarchy and Confusion. And if we will but take the Experience of our own, or other Ages, the case will be plain from that too, as well as common Sense, That Resistance to Authority, if it were never so Lawful, is such a Remedy as never bears its own Charges; and that no Nation ever made use of it, that did not rue its own folly. The Vices of a single Person are finite, and reach but to particular cases, the most bloody Tyrant that ever was, never cut off any great Numbers; and it is truly observed by *Cardan of Nero*, that as wanton as he was with the Lives of Men, in a very few Months after his death, there was abundantly more blood spilt, then in all his fourteen years Reign. The miseries of War are endless and universal, and whatever the event is, or whoever wins, the Common-wealth is sure to be a loser, and to pay a severe reckoning on all sides. Some few of the scum of the People, may by the strength of

of their brawny Arms, signalize themselves into Clowns of Eminence, whilst the Ancient Gentry and Nobility endanger all their Fortunes, and great numbers even of the first beginners of disturbance lose their Lives, and in short the whole Kingdom must be undone for the advancement of a *Cromwel*, a *Pride*, an *Hewson*, or a *Desborough*, and it rarely happens (and it is pity but it should be so) but that the first Contrivers are out-reached in their own Designs, and baulkt by other Men, and other Councils, and live to lament their own folly in much more good earnest, then they did the grievances or miscarriages of the Government. But when the dispute is once raised, it is not to be determin'd but by the Sword, and wherever success attends, that Nation is in a sweet condition, when a Conquering Army comes with Swords drawn to rate the Merits of their past Services, and challenge rewards equal to their present Insolence, and that is to take whatever they are pleased to demand; and it is a kindness in them not easily to be expected if they will stop at any violence. At least it is certain, That which side soever is Victor, the generality of a Nation never reap any thing by a War, then Repentance, and a little Wisdom

got by dear bought Experience. But not to mention a thousand other great, publick and lasting Calamities, that Naturally follow Resistance and Rebellion, the certain miseries of Civil War it self, infinitely outweigh all the Burthens that the greatest Tyranny can lay upon the Subject. What a long Succession of unexampled Tyrants must have Reign'd in *England*, before they could have committed so many inhumanities, as a few years Civil War for the Liberty of the Subject brought upon it ? What one mortal Man's Salvageness could ever have spilt half so much Blood, as was shed in any one eminent Battel ? Let therefore the Patriots of Sedition cease to upbraid Loyalty with weakness of Understanding, when all Men of common Sense, or any Experience in the Affairs of the World, cannot but see through the delusion of fighting for their Liberties against their Prince, by which they hazard, and for the most part lose both, and at least certainly bring themselves into greater Slavery, then they could have suffered, had they been patient under the worst of Governments. And this brings to my mind another instance of the wisdom of Submission, and that is this, that as no wise Man that takes a thorough

thorough account of his own interest, would care to draw himself into a War against his Prince, so it is generally Men of the meanest understandings that are seduced by them. And they are drawn in by such poor slights and delusions, that plainly shew the contempt that the Patriots have of their shallow reach, and the bottom of all their Politiques is, to inveigle the common People into a conceit, that in all contests with the Government, it is only their interest that is concerned, and as for themselves, were it not to assert their Liberties, they would never undergo the frowns of the Court, never expose themselves to the hazards of War, nor venture their Lives and Fortunes for any thing less then the preservation of their Country. And all this while the poor People must be supposed so dull (and so they are) as not to suspect, that there is any such thing as Revenge, Ambition and Discontent in the World, and yet it is these that have always been the great Patrons of their Liberties. And though their Seditious Artifices are known, and thread-bare, as often discovered as used, and a thousand times over and over exposed, yet because the common People have not the advantage to know, or make use of the Expe-

rience of former Ages, they are in every Age as ready a Prey for the Snare, as if it had never been set before. So that omitting divers other good reasons that might be urged against all kind of Resistance, and particularly that one, That if it be once allowed the common People in any case, there is no stop of pretences, or end of confusions. And if Princes may, and do abuse their Power, it is much more certain that the Rabble cannot use theirs aright : And therefore to prevent the vast inconvenience of their ever abusing it, it must be stopt at first, and without reserve, else the mischiefs that follow, if it be admitted at all, will be infinite.

I know indeed, that learned Men suppose some Extravagant cases in which they will allow Resistance to be Lawful, *Barclay* and *Winzet* suppose two, viz. When the Prince sets himself to destroy the Common-wealth, or would sell the Kingdom to a Foreign Power. But these wild suppositions are not to be brought into the practice of the World, of which perhaps there are no Examples upon Record. For what can be more incredible than that a King should be fond of destroying his Kingdom, when by that he certainly in the first place destroys him-

Contra Mach. l. 3.
c. 16.

self himself, or of alienating it to another, when by that he as certainly enslaves himself. Perhaps the thing may be possible in Nature, but it is so infinitely improbable, that it ought not to be supposed in the practice of the World : Least by supposing such an unexampled madness, we let Men loose from their Duty in all other Cases; for that is the constant practice of all Incendiaries, to persuade the People that their present Governors take the course to destroy the Common-wealth. So that by this supposition of these two Extravagancies, these Learned Men utterly defeat their own Design, because these are the very Cases that are pretended in all Rebellions, and may be applied to all Cases, as Men please to make use of their assistance. Thus when *Barclay* argues, ' That if the Power of calling Sovereign Princes to account for their Government, be allowed to the People or their Representatives, it would be as destructive of good as of bad Princes, as we may see by the insolent deportment of the *Ephori* against their Kings, whom they chastised not only for their greater misdemeanours, but for their mistakes or fancies; thus as *Plutarch* Records in the Life of *Agessilaus*, they punished King *Archidamus*

Lib. 3.
c. 16.

' *chidamus* for chusing a little Woman to
 ' Wife. If therefore this were the condi-
 ' tion of Kings to be liable to the Judge-
 ' ment of the People, they would be al-
 ' ways exposed to numberless Affronts,
 ' Reproaches, and Calumnies. And that
 ' would be ever enough for their Con-
 ' demnation, only that they did not please
 ' the People, though they fell into their
 ' displeasure not by any fault of their
 ' own, but by the procurement of some
 ' ambitious Incendiary. And this would
 ' be so much the more dangerous to
 ' good, then to bad Princes, because ill
 ' Men, are more apt to assault good
 ' Men, then they them. And nothing
 ' is more difficult, then for a Prince to
 ' manage things with that wisdom and
 ' happy success, as not to incur the dis-
 ' pleasure of some Parties, of their Sub-
 ' jects. If he defend and relieve the Com-
 ' monalty from the Oppressions of the
 ' great ones, he makes the Nobility his
 ' Enemies, as *James the Fifth of Scotland*
 ' did, whom they therefore Nick-named
 ' *The Carlis King*, i. e. *The King of the*
 ' *Clowns*. If he favour and advance the
 ' Nobility, and they any way oppress
 ' or disgust the Commons, it will drive
 ' them into Tumults, and though at first
 ' they may be despised as a cowardly
 ' and

' and silly Rout, whilst they want a Lea-
 ' der ; yet when they are headed by any
 ' bold Captain, there is nothing more
 ' daring or more dangerous, for casting
 ' off all fears and restraints, they will
 ' mount out of the lowest Servitude to
 ' the top of Pride and Insolence, especial-
 ' ly if any of the Nobility join with them,
 ' and it rarely happens in such cases, but
 ' that the People draw in the Nobles, or
 ' the Nobles the People. And yet there
 ' is but one pretence for all Rebellions,
 ' the fault of the Governor ; and but one
 ' design, and that is to save the Common-
 ' wealth from destruction. And this will
 ' put it into the Power of all Rebels, who
 ' pretend that they are forced to take up
 ' Arms against their Prince for the Pub-
 ' lick Safety (for all Rebels hide their
 ' wickedness under that Veil) and if
 ' need be for the same reason Depose
 ' him.

All which discourse, as effectual as it
 is, is clearly defeated, and a Gap opened
 to all the liberty that Rebels challenge
 by his allowing the Lawfulness of resist-
 ance, *When the Prince goes about to de-*
stroy the Common-wealth, when by his
 own observation it is the standing Arti-
 fice, and only Pretence of all Rebellions.
 And the truth of it is, if it be once gran-
 ted

ted in any one case, it may be made as wide as Mens conveniences require.

*De Jure
belli & pa-
cis, l. 1.
c. 4.*

*Holy Com-
mon-wealth
p. 466.*

Thus *Grotius* has extended it to Seven or Eight Cases more, *i. e.* As many as were necessary to bring his Country-men fairly off in their casting off the *Spanish* Government. And so has Mr. *B.* from this very concession of *Barclay*, justified the Rebellion against his late Majesty, by recapitulating the many misdemeanours and illegal Acts of his Government ; or rather Transcribing the long Parliaments Remonstrance of the State of the Kingdom ; in which they represented to the People the great and manifest danger of the utter Subversion of our Religion, our Laws, our Liberties, and the Common-wealth it self, under the King's Government : And thus we see that by allowing resistance to the worst of Kings in any one case, it will serve for a plausible and effectual pretence for Rebellion against the best of Kings in all Cases. And therefore it is more for the benefit of Mankind to have this liberty denied even in those rare and extravagant Cases, then by granting it in any to make a pretence for all Rebellions : And if ever there should be a Prince so strangely beside himself, as to set himself to destroy his own Kingdom, there would

would be no danger of him, and he would be so unlikely to effect it, that he would first need to be chain'd up for other acts of madness, before he could entertain such raving thoughts : However it would be much less mischievous to the World, that such a Bedlam Prince should rather be suffer'd to destroy the Common-wealth without resistance from his Subjects, because it is so rarely done, then that his Subjects should be permitted to rebel against him under that pretence, because it is so frequently done ; a thousand times for once : And for this reason is it, that God Almighty has made universal Subjection such an indispensable Duty, because however the World goes, peace is at all times most beneficial for the good of Mankind, and that is the end of all his Laws. And its universal obligation is so evident, upon supposition that Government is of Divine Institution, that *Grotius* has no other way to escape from the Argument, but by making it a meer humane Invention. Which is to suppose that all Men in the World were once out of Government, and that is to suppose them both uncreated and unbegotten, as I shall prove when I come to discourse of the Original of Government. But at present, granting all Government to

to be an Artificial invention of Men, yet it was first contrived for the common security ; and therefore it is always as necessary to keep it up, as it was at first to set it up ; for if it be at any time taken down, we are in the same state of War and Confusion, that we were in before we agreed to submit our selves to it ; and therefore for the same reason that we first entred into it, are we obliged to preserve its Rights inviolable, lest by breaking the present settlement, we expose our selves to all those inconveniences of life, that we design'd to avoid by its first Institution. So that in the conclusion of all, whether Government were first instituted by God or Man, it is agreed on all sides, that it is necessary to Society, and Society to the comfort of every Man's life ; so that to baulk or oppose the Government, is to destroy the Society, and to destroy that, is to destroy every Man's own Propriety ; and after that, all other pretences, how big soever, are too light to be put into the Balance against so weighty a Consideration. This that I have here in brief represented, is enough to convince any Man, that Submission to a lawful Government, how ill soever managed, cannot be more our Duty, then it is our Wisdom and Interest.

And

And therefore that it is not want of a good understanding or a manly sense of things to bear Oppression, but the Effect of true Prudence, and a thorough insight into the consequences of things. And I have here dropt in this brief account of the folly of all resistance against a legal and settled Government, only as a present check to the petulancy of Sedition. For be the pretences in any case never so strong and plausible, they can never stand before the force and the light of this one Consideration, That how great, and how many mischiefs soever Resistance may think to remove ; it certainly creates many more, and those much heavier, and rarely ends in any thing than universal destruction. But this Argument I shall (by Gods assistance) prosecute more largely, when I come to shew the Grounds and Reasons upon which this Duty of Universal Subjection is founded, and these I shall demonstrate from the Use, the Nature, and the Original of Government, that cannot subsist but upon its supposition. And then I shall take an account of all the republican and antimonarchical Principles, and shew that all their Hypotheses concerning Government first contrived by the Common-wealths-men of Greece, stand upon no firmer bottom than

than meer fable and poetry, and in particular that their fundamental Principle, of deriving all Government from the People, is built upon no wiser supposition then this, That the World was once peopled with Men and Women, that sprung out of the Earth, both without a Creatour and without Parents. And then in the last place shew, that the *Hildebrandinists* of all Sects; *Bellarmino, Suarez, Mariana, Lessius, Becanus, Boucherius* and others on the Papal side: *Buchanan, Junius Brutus, Rutherford, Mr. B.* and other of the Presbyterian side, all agree in this one Principle of deriving the Government from the People, and make it the last pretence of all their pleas for resistance upon what account soever. In the mean time I proceed upon the Authority of the Scriptures.

§. 8. That is the second advantage, that the Christian Religion brings along with it for the security of Civil Government, *viz.* the many Laws that it has injoynd to bind Subjects to an entire and absolute subjection. The third is this, That those that are entrusted with highest Authority in the Church, are most severely forbidden to challenge to themselves any temporal power or dominion, and

strictly

strictly commanded to exercise their own jurisdiction with all manner of meekness and humility, towards their Inferiours, and an exemplary submission to their Superiours. And this is a new Tye upon them beside all the former obligations from the nature of Christianity, the doctrine of the Cross, the Precepts of our Saviour and his Apostles in common to them, with all other Christians, to an entire and unreserved subjection. Thus when our Saviour had constituted the Apostles supreme Governours in his Church, he beats them all off from all Thoughts of worldly pride and ambition; and instructs them to exercise their Power, though it were so very great, with that compliyanee and condescension, as if they had in reality none at all. For all our Saviour's Precepts to his Apostles to avoid domination, relate wholly to the manner of exercising their Authority, and not to the Authority it self, as the Enemies to the Christian Church would force them to imply. For that the Apostles were vested with true and proper Power, is evident both from their Office (all the Acts whereof we have shewn to be Authoritative) and from our Saviour's own immediate Grant, in which he expressly declares, That he leaves to them and their

their Successours the same Power, that himself had received from his Father. . So that if he had any real Authority at all, so had they too; and if they had none, neither had he. And therefore those several Texts, that are usually alledged to take away the Power of the Church, cannot be understood of any thing but the manner of its exercise, without any pride or haughtiness, and with all manner of gentleness and condescension to those that were under their Authority. And if we take an Account of the particular passages themselves, they will force us to take them in this sense and no other. Thus when they were contending among themselves, our Saviour calls them to him, and tells them, *The Princes of the Gentiles exercise dominion over them, and they that are great exercise Authority upon them, but it shall not be so among you: But whosoever will be great among you, let him be your Minister; and whosoever will be chief [or Ruler] among you, let him be your Servant, even as the Son of man came not to be ministered unto, but to minister.* Which words though they are alledged by Grotius in the Book of his Youth, *de Imperio*, against all manner of Authority in the Church beside that of perswasion, which is none at all: Yet in his Notes upon

Mat. 20.
25.

upon the Gospels, he clearly shews the Vanity and the Falseness of that Interpretation. And no wonder, when it is done so expressly by the Words themselves, in which our Saviour shews his Apostles, how they may observe this Rule by following his Example, Now it is plain (says he) that it cannot be said of him that he had no Authority, when he says of himself that he had all Power in Heaven and Earth, and therefore it cannot refer to the Being of Authority it self, but to its kind and the manner of using it. That as he notwithstanding the greatness of his Dignity, behaved himself rather like a Servant than a Lord, and instead of imperious commanding his Subjects, condescended to the lowest Offices towards them, thereby to endear them to himself and the gentleness of his Government, so should all Pastours and Governours in the Christian Church, not insult and domineer over their Flocks, not govern them with an arbitrary Power, or τυραννική προνομία, tyrannical dominion, as Gregory Nazianzen expresses it; nor enslave them to their own interest and insolence as the Roman Prefects did the Provinces particularly the Governours or Ethnarchs of Judæa, who (as Josephus informs us) were known by the particular Title of *ἐνερ* 13. 2.

Orat. 28.

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ἡται,

Ray, Remonstrance: But to treat them with all gentleness, and to be so far from using them like Slaves, that they should rather behave themselves to them like Servants, *i. e.* in short, to mix nothing of Arrogance with their Authority. And that truly becomes the Person and Dignity of a Christian Prelate (as *St. Chrysostom* paraphrases upon it) to be affable and courteous, to be kind and gentle, to be familiar and condescending to the meanest Persons; this gains him respect with all Men, and makes his Authority much greater than it would be without it, Men will much more readily obey a Superiour, that obliges more than he commands. Whereas on the contrary (says he) if a Bishop be proud and surly, or if rough and peevish, or if when he ought to reprove he scold and bray, or if when he should command, he hustle or domineers; or if he affect to be troublesome to his Inferiours, and shew the greatness of his Power, by nothing else than being pert and vexatious, he justly exposes himself to the contempt of all Men, loses the respect due to his Person, and the Reverence due to his Place. Nothing so odious and despicable as a Clown in any Authority, but in Church Authority it is so offensive, that the indignity of

of it is not to be express'd, it is so wide a contradiction to the Place and Office. Now the sense of this Text being thus stated, as it is by this Eloquent Father, it fixes the meaning of all the rest; thus when *St. Peter* exhorts the Pastors not to Lord it over God's heritage (where it is all one whether it relate to the whole Flock, or only the subordinate Clergy) it is the very same word which is used by our Saviour, *καταυπιδειν*. And so does *St. Paul*, when he tells the *Corinthians*, that the Apostles do not Lord it over their Faith, the word is *υπιδειν*, which we improperly enough Translate, *Not having Dominion over their Faith*, for the word *Dominion* is not always taken in a bad Sense, but often signifies Lawful Authority, whereas *υπιδειν* properly signifies nothing but domineering, or treating them as Masters do their Slaves, whom they care not how they use for their own gain and advantage; that is the proper import of the word, and therefore it is very aptly joyn'd by *St. Peter* with *μισειν διακορναις*, to feed the Flock for filthy lucre, as the *Romans* kept their Slaves. And to the same purpose is the advice of *St. Paul*, that a Bishop be no striker, nor greedy of filthy lucre, but patient, or mild and gentle,

*Epi. i.
c. 5. v. 3.*

1 Tim. 3. 3.

γάρ, Benefactors : But to treat them with all gentleness, and to be so far from using them like Slaves, that they should rather behave themselves to them like Servants, *i. e.* in short, to mix nothing of Arrogance with their Authority. And that truly becomes the Person and Dignity of a Christian Prelate (as *St. Chrysostom* paraphrases upon it) to be affable and courteous, to be kind and gentle, to be familiar and condescending to the meanest Persons; this gains him respect with all Men, and makes his Authority much greater then it would be without it, Men will much more readily obey a Superiour, that obliges more then he commands. Whereas on the contrary (says he) if a Bishop be proud and surly, or if rough and peevish, or if when he ought to reprove he scold and brawls, or if when he should command, he huffs or domineers; or if he affect to be troublesome to his Inferiours, and shew the greatness of his Power, by nothing else then being pert and vexatious, he justly exposes himself to the contempt of all Men, loses the respect due to his Person, and the Reverence due to his Place. Nothing so odious or despicable as a Clown in any Authority, but in Church Authority it is so offensive, that the indignity

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Epi. i.
c. 5. v. 3.

1 Tim. 3. 3.

not a brawler, not covetous, *i. e.* not to run into any of these Vices or Disorders in the exercise of his Episcopal Authority ; but to infer from hence, that he has no true and real Authority at all, only becomes the Man that knows no better Sanction of a Law, then a Sword or a Cudgel. And this very thing is that *ἐν-
είκεια*, that moderation, that is so frequently injoin'd in the Apostolical Writings, as *Phil. 4. 5. Tit. 3. 2. Jam. 3. 17.* It is not, as it is by some Men very ignorantly interpreted, an unconcernedness and indifferency between dissenting Parties, for that may be good or bad as it happens ; if the controversie be trivial, it may be an instance of it, but if it be about a matter that is settled either by the Authority of God or the Church, there indifferency and moderation is nothing else then Falseness and Treachery. But the true meaning of the word, is a mildness and gentleness in the use of Authority, the same that is attributed to God himself in the Government of the World, *Wisd. of Solomon, c. 12. v. 18, But thou Mastering thy Power, judgest with Equity, and orderest us with great favour, ἐν ἐν-
είκεια κελνεις, i. e.* judgest not by rigour of Law, but with mercy and gentleness, and so *Aristotle* defines the virtue of

ἐπι-

ἐπιείκεια that its Office is, *ἐπανορθῶν τὸν νόμον, ἢ ἐλλείπει* ἄλλο τὸ κερθόλου, to correct and moderate the general Law when it is applied to particular Cases. And all good Government is ever more merciful then the Law ought to be, for that cannot be too severe to deter Men from offending, so that there are not many cases in which it is broken, wherein the offender may not require some mercy and compassion. But as this Vertue is so highly commendable in all Government, so is it much more in that of the Church, in which Almighty God shews more of it in himself towards Mankind, the Gospel being nothing but a dispensation of his Mercy and Gentleness to Offenders. And as this is a necessary Qualification in the Governors of the Church for guiding and rectifying their publick Government, so is it most becoming their private Conversation, and by gaining Authority to their Persons, doubles that of their Office. So that when our Saviour instructs his Apostles in this new way to Greatness, his instructions are wise in a literal Sense, for nothing is really so great and commanding in the World as true Humility. *Whoever will be great among you, let him be your Minister, and whoever will be first among you, let him be your*

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Servant,

Servant, Matth. 21. 26. If any one desire to be first, the same shall be last of all, and
Servant of all, Mark 9. 35. He that ex-
alteth himself, shall be abased; and he that
will abase himself, shall be exalted, Math.
 23. 12. The common experience of the
 World sufficiently attests the Truth and
 the Wisdom of these Propositions, so
 Powerful is the obligation of Courtesie,
 Condescension, and Humility. But if the
 Governors of the Church are so strictly
 injoin'd this Vertue, where they have
 Authority, how much more are they,
 where they have none? If they may
 not contend with one another for Domi-
 nion, though they have equal Power,
 how much less with Sovereign Princes,
 of whose Power they have no share, and
 to whom they are bound to a more ex-
 act and exemplary Obedience and Sub-
 mission than other Subjects, by their Of-
 fice and Power. So that our Saviour
 has taken all possible care, as far as Law
 can do it, to reduce the Constitution of
 his Church to an entire compliance with
 the Civil Government. And though he
 has instituted a distinct Government in
 it, suited to the design of his Religion, he
 has so many ways brought it into Subje-
 ction to Sovereign Powers, that they are
 much more disabled by their very Au-
 thority

thority to give them any disturbance,
 then they could have been without it;
 the very Authority it self being a new
 and distinct Obligation to a stricter Al-
 legiance. But because notwithstanding
 all this Evidence some Men are jealous
 of granting any Authority to the Church
 peculiar to it self, especially when all
 Power is so apt to degenerate into abuse;
 and therefore though they cannot deny
 the truth of it in general, are very shy
 of admitting it at all, lest they give it
 too much advantage sometime or other
 to fix and strengthen an interest within
 it self, against the State (And I must
 confess the prophane boldness of the Bi-
 shops of *Rome*, ever since the *Hildebran-*
dine Apostacy, in justling and contesting
 with Princes, as the Vicars of Christ, has
 given too much ground for this Jealousie) I shall from this general state of the
 Christian Law, as fixt by our Saviour
 and his Apostles, proceed to its particular
 Precedents, when it came to be reduced
 to practice in the Primitive Church.
 Whereby I shall make it to appear, after
 and beside all these foregoing considera-
 tions to forestall all pretences whatsoever,
 of resistance to the Civil State, that tho
 this, because all Power is so, may be li-
 able to abuse, yet that there is not any

one point of Government more easie then to prevent it, and that the danger is so very little, that no Government that does not grossly forsake it self, can possibly suffer any thing from it, and that the abuse is so unlikely, and so difficult ever to be put in practice again, that there is no one thing in the World that requires less care to watch against it; in short, that it can never come to do any harm without such a long continued stupidity in the State, as is utterly inconsistent with all Government of it.

And on the other side, the advantages that accrue to the State by receiving the Church into its protection, are so great, so certain, and so universal, that there cannot be a grosser failure in Policy, then to refuse or deny it. And here I say for our better direction, as every where else, we must advise with the practice of the Primitive Church, where we shall find the whole matter so fairly and so easily accorded, that it is next to a miracle how it should ever be made so great a difficulty in these later times. But it hapned in this, as it did in most other things at the time of the Reformation, that men saw themselves wrapt up, they knew not how, in woful Errours and Corruptions, but did not, and indeed as the World

then stood, could not immediately discover the true original state of the Church, as it was at first settled by our Saviour and his Apostles, and received into protection by *Constantine* and the Christian Emperours. So that though they had Eyesight enough (and God knows very little would serve their turn) to discern the follies and abuses of *Rome*, they were at a loss how to fix the right Reformation, and for want of the ancient Records of the Church, that lay buried in dust and rubbish at that time, could make but slow improvements in it. So that before the true state of the Church could be clearly and fully discover'd, most of them were settled in some way or other, and after any new settlement, it is very difficult to make any Alteration, and therefore they continue in their first posture to this day. But the Church of *England* at the very first Attempt, resolving to reform it self by the Example of the Primitive Church, and having the good fortune to retain the Apostolical form of Episcopal Government in subordination to the Royal Power, set it self in a right way to Reformation. And so as the state of things came to light by degrees, brought its work to some competent Perfection. For the Reformation of the Church after

such an inveterate degeneracy, must needs be a work of so great bulk and difficulty, that it is an unreasonable thing to expect that it should be finisht at the first stroke. So great a design as that must be a work of time and consideration, to be reviewed and amended as the Master-Workmen shall find most convenient. So as that they, who had a Power first to begin it, have an inherent right, when ever they think fit to take an account of their own Work, and if they find any flaws, mistakes, or defects in it, to make them up by an after-care. So that there must be a constant Power residing in the Church to enact or abolish Laws, as it judges most serviceable to the present state of things. And that is truly and properly the Church of *England*, the Governours of it acting under the Allowance of the Sovereign Power by its establisht Laws and Constitutions, with a constant power residing in themselves, and their Successours, to enact new Laws as they shall judge most beneficial to the Edification of the Church. And it is a very crude notion of the Church of *England* (as common as it is) that it is to be found in its Canons, Articles and Constitutions, for that is only the Law and dead rule of the Church of *England*, but the Church properly so call'd

call'd consists in its living Authority, as settled by our Saviour, by which these Laws were at first enacted, and are or ought to be still executed, and may in some cases be alter'd. And that is the great difference between the Law and the Authority of the Church, that one is alterable, and the other is not. The Authority of the Church may make new Laws and cancel old ones, but that lasts the same for ever. So that for men to talk of this or that Church, without a particular form of Government settled in it by our Saviour's own Commission, is to turn the Christian Church into a Chimæra and imaginary state of Fairies. But as for the Church of *England*, according to the design of its Reformation, it consists of a National Synod of Bishops, together with a select Convocation of Presbyters representing the whole Body of the Clergy in subjection to the Sovereign Power, and in communion with the Catholique Church all the World over, as far as it can be attain'd. And this is contrived so agreeably to the Primitive Platform, the Interest of Government, the Nature of Christianity, that there is little else defective in it, then the honesty and the confidence to own it self, and put its own Constitution into effectual practice. But

But of that I shall discourse in its proper place.

§. 9. At present for the practice of the Primitive Churches Government within it self, and as it related to the Civil State, it must be consider'd in the two Periods; before and after the Conversion of the Empire; and by comparing the true face and posture of things in these two so different states, we shall have an exact description of the Rights of the Church in all estates and conditions whatsoever: But most of all of its easy compliance with the Rights of Civil Government in Christian States; and of the safest way for Christian Sovereigns to govern and protect the Church within their Dominions, without invading its inherent and unalienable Authority. And then last of all, I shall compare that Royal Supremacy, that is acknowledged and asserted in the Church and Realm of *England* in Causes Ecclesiastical with the sense of the Ancient Church, concerning the Authority of Emperours, and with the Practice of Christian Princes, in the Exercise of this Authority. And by shewing their compleat Agreement, shall from that Topick distinctly prove that we have in this,

this, as well as in other matters, attain'd a good degree of Reformation.

First, as for the Period of time, before the Conversion of the *Roman* Empire, there are two things to be consider'd; first their behaviour towards the Civil Government, whilst it suppress and persecuted the Christian Faith: Secondly, the exercise of their own Authority within themselves. From both which it will appear that the Church, as a Society founded by Christ, challenged a Jurisdiction distinct from and Independant upon the Civil State; and that this Jurisdiction was so far from interfering with or abating of the Sovereignty of Princes, that it bound them to the strictest Allegiance and Subjection, to the most inhumane Persecutors. And the Story of this Interval, whilst the powers of the Church and the World were separate, and indeed (as much as it was possible) opposite, will set before us a much clearer State of the Nature and Extent of the two Jurisdications, then we can have from the Practice of Christian States, in which the two Powers concurring in the same Acts of Government, it is not altogether so easie to discern their distinct influences: but will withal give us the fullest Character of true Christian Loyalty from their practice under

under the hardest usage and severest persecutions. But most of all from their Principles upon which they founded their Obligation to their Practice ; and when it appears upon what grounds and reasons they submitted to the utmost cruelty of the Civil Government, that will prevent the common shift made by all Factious Parties against the Authority of their Example : viz. that they submitted for want of strength to make resistance, because it will shew that they thought themselves obliged to suffer any thing from the Government rather than resist, by the most Sacred and indispensable Laws of their Religion.

And first, as for their Patience and Submission under all kinds of Cruelties and Oppressions, it is so remarkable, so entire, so without reserve or exception, that, if it were possible, the height and glory of their practice exceeded the Gallantry of their Masters Precepts. And though they were eminent for all other Vertues, yet in this of patience, cheerfulness, and magnanimity under sufferings they outdid themselves. It was the hight and perfection of all their goodness ; it was the wonder and astonishment of their Enemies ; and the glory, and if any thing could be so, the very boast of their Religion.

gion. Numberless are both the Instances of this Practice in the Records of the Church, and the Assertions in the Writings of the ancient Doctors of it, to own and justify their Obligation to it. But to transcribe them would be an endless work, and would take up the greatest part of the Records of the first three hundred years ; that are for the most part employed about these *εἰρηνικῶτατοι πόλεμοι* (as *Eusebius* In Prefat. ad lib. 5. styles them) these peaceable Wars of Martyrs and Confessors. It is enough that in all that time, there is not one instance of any Christians making any forcible defence, or joyning in any Sedition against their Governors. Though if there had been any miscarriages in that kind, that could have been no objection against the truth of the Doctrine it self, which is to be taken from the general Practice and Sense of the Church, not from the irregularities of a few private persons. And yet so far was it from that, that to me it looks like Wonder and Miracle that among all the Primitive Christians, who lived under Pagan and persecuting Emperors till the time of *Constantine* the Great, which takes in the Interval of three hundred and forty years, there should not be one instance of any one Christian, that either taught or practised the Doctrine of resistance

ance in any case whatsoever ; but that on the contrary they unanimously both taught and practised the Duty of Passive Obedience, as one of the greatest and most indispensable Laws of their Religion.

And first as for the publick Records, the Canons and Laws of the Church, the case is the same here, as that of Parricide in old *Rome* ; the Crime was so unknown and so unsuspected that no Provision was made against it. For among all the Canonical Decrees and Censures of the Ancient Church, which were all enacted to restrain some present miscarriages, there is not one to be found that forbids or punishes the Sin of Resistance to Lawful Superiors. The Christians of the Primitive Church were so firmly fix'd in their Duty here by our Saviour's and his Apostles Precepts, and by the constant Instructions and Unanimous Sense of their Pastours and Teachers, that they supposed that they could not make any resistance to the most unjust violence of their Persecutors, without renouncing Christianity itself. And that is the reason why this Crime was then never restrained by Ecclesiastical Censures, because it was then never committed. And though there are scarce any other Sins for

for which the Church has not appointed proper Penances, because they were some time or other put in practice, yet the sin of Rebellion was the only Crime for which it had no Penance; because there never was any one instance of it, to give any occasion for a Law against it. Nay, so far was the Church from doing any thing prejudicial to the Rights of Sovereign Powers, that it was careful and tender of the Interests of Families, in pursuance of its Fundamental Principle, that Christianity was to make no alteration in any Civil Rights whatsoever. And therefore in the 82^d Apostolical Canon it is provided, That no Servant be admitted into Holy Orders without his Master's consent, because (as they give the reason of the Law) that would be a subversion of Families. And for that reason it was made one of the Articles framed against St. Chrysostom by his Adversaries in the Synod under the Oak; *ὁ δὲ δούλος ἀπολείβει μὴ πρὶν ἐκδοθεὶς τῷ κυρίῳ ἐκείνῳ* *Εὐαγγελιστῆς* *156.* *us, l. P.* *πρὶν αὐτὸν ἀπολύσει, That he had Ordain'd* *other Mens Servants before they were set at liberty.* And in the third Canon of the Council of Gangra it is Decreed, That whoever teaches Servants to forsake their Masters, upon the account of Religion, be Anathematized. This Synod of Gangra

Gra was assembled against a particular Sect of Fanatiques in *Armenia*, that under the pretence of a more refin'd and spiritual Religion, became perfect Ranters and Levellers; and so subverted all Rights both Sacred and Civil; as they are excellently described in an Epistle of the Bishops of the Synod to the Bishops of *Armenia*, prefixt to their Canons, and among the many other disorders into which these wild Enthusiasts lap themselves, this was one, that they taught Servants to run away from their Masters, *μεταδοι δεσποτας*, upon the pretence of Godliness, which as well as an infinite other absurd Principles is here justly, and as *Zonaras* observes, in pursuance of the Apostolical Doctrine, Anathematiz'd. These are all the Canons that I know of in the Ancient Church, that concern Mens Civil Rights, so rarely were they invaded or violated among the Primitive Christians; but the first Canons that I meet with against Rebellion, were the three Anathema's of the Council of *Toledo*, in the year 633: When the *Romans* being driven out of *Spain* by the *Goths*, and they being settled in the peaceful Government of the Country, after the death of *Cinthilas*, who first obtain'd the Crown, and the Peoples consent to it; *Sisnandus* his

his Son summon'd this Council in the first year of his Reign, to Anathematise all Persons, that should any way attempt any thing against his Crown, Life, or Dignity. But this was merely contrived for the security of his Government against the *Romans*, and to preserve his new Subjects from Revolting to their old Masters, and was not made to condemn the Doctrine of Resistance, as if it had been taught at that time, but to abet their Oath of Allegiance, and for that reason the Anathema upon the Offender is founded upon the sin of Perjury. The next passage that I remember, to provide against all Rebellion, is the fragment of a Synod held by *Alexius* Patriarch of *Constantinople*, under the younger *Constantinus Porphyrogeneta*, who began his Reign in the year 975. In which all defections from, or insurrections against the Emperour are Anathematiz'd; and so is the Priest that gives absolution to any Rebels, before they return to their Duty and Allegiance. The occasion of this Law I know not, but whatever it was, I know no other of the same nature till the *Hildebrandine* Apostacy, whose barbarous proceedings against the Emperour *Henry* the Fourth, were immediately censured and condemn'd by a Council

Launclavius
us Græco-
Rom. Tom.
1. Lib. 2.
pag. 118.

of Thirty Bishops assembled at *Brixia* in the year 1080, and himself is Deposed and Anathematized, as one that destroyed the Order of the Church, and disturb'd the Peace of Christian Empire, and compass't the Death of a Catholique Prince, and abetted a perjured Usurper, and subverted the Peace of the World. And the same Sentence was ratified five years after in a Council at *Mentz*, though all in vain, for they got nothing by it, but the Name and the Brand of Schismaticques. But what bloody work has been made in Christendom by the Principles of this Termagant Pope from that time to this, will make up a Volume of it self, when we come to those times.

But to return to the state of the Primitive Church, though there are no examples of any affront or violence offer'd to the Civil Magistrate in it, yet there are numberless instances of their quiet and peaceable Submission, and that too upon Principles of Duty and Obligations of Conscience. Thus was it bravely said of St. Polycarp, and worthy the greatness and wisdom of the Martyr, to the Proconsul at his Tryal. *We are Commanded, Sir, to give all due and decent honour to Princes and Magistrates, so far as we can do it, without doing wrong to our*

Ensch. Lib.
4. c. 15.

own

own Consciences. They were bound to comply with, and submit to the Will of their Governours in all things but Sin, and that by the Laws of their Religion. But the most magnificent Account of this is to be seen in the Christian Apologists, who in the very heat and flame of Persecutions, when, if ever, Men should be exasperated into Passion, Glory and Triumph in their great Zeal and Loyalty to those very Princes by whom they were persecuted. *Justin Martyr* is so *Apol. 2.* confident as to Petition the Emperours *p. 66.* to punish all such as profess't Christianity, and yet lived not according to the Laws of their Religion, and then immediately adds, *As for our parts, we are the most forward of any Subjects to pay Taxes and Contributions to the Emperour, as we are Commanded by our Master, to give unto God the things that are God's, and unto Cæsar the things that are Cæsar's. And therefore we worship God alone, but cheerfully serve them in all other things, as well knowing them to be Sovereign Princes over Men; and withal praying for them, that God would add Wisdom to their Imperial Dignity. This is our Practice and Profession, and if, notwithstanding this, you will proceed against us, we shall be no losers, being assured, that every Man*

must after death give an account of his own Actions, and then our Rewards shall be proportion'd to our Sufferings. And after the same manner, and with the same confidence, does his Scholar *Athenagoras* conclude his Eloquent Oration to the Emperours, when he had shewn the Innocence of the Christians in all other particulars, when he had wip't off all Calumnies, and when he had represented their Piety, their Honesty, their Temperance, their Sobriety, he adds, *And now great and worthy Sirs, lend me your Royal Ear, who think you are more likely to obtain the things that they pray for, then Persons so qualified, and yet we daily poure forth our Prayers for the prosperity of your Government, and that the Son may according to right succeed the Father in the Empire, and that your Government may ever increase and flourish; in short, that all things may fall out as successfully as your hearts can desire, which will be a benefit also to our selves, that living under your Reign a quiet and peaceable life, we may readily obey your Commands. That was the sum of all their Apologies, and it was suited to the Nature of their Religion as it stood founded upon the Doctrine of the Cross, we are obedient to all your Commands, that are*
not

not contrary to the true worship of God and the Laws of our Religion; there we crave leave to be excused, and if that offend you, we can but suffer for it, which we are ready to do with all manner of meekness and submission, as being assured of an Eternal Reward for a short calamity.

Theophilus Antiochenus in his Address to his Friend, discoursing of the Folly and Vanity of giving Divine Worship to the Emperours, he tells him, *That it is a much greater honour to them not to worship but to pray for them. I will worship that God from whom Cæsar received his Authority. But you will say, why not Cæsar too? Because he was not set up to be worshipt, but to be paid that proper honour that is due to Cæsar, for the King is not the Deity but ought to remember that he is advanced by God to that height of Dignity, not to be worshipt by his Subjects, but to do them Justice; for this end the Divine Majesty placed him in the Imperial Throne, and therefore as Cæsar will not suffer any of his Subjects to usurp the Cæsarean Title, because it belongs to him alone, neither let himself challenge that worship, that is proper and peculiar to the Divine Majesty. And therefore O Man honour the King, honour him, I say by loving him, obeying him,*

and praying for him, and by so doing, you will do the will of God, for this is the Sum of the Divine Law, my Son honour God, and the King, and be not disobedient or refractory to either of them. This was the true state of the Case in his time to shew all manner of respect and honour to Sovereign Princes as such, only in Subordination to God, so as to obey them in all things but when their commands interfer'd, and then indeed they choose to obey God in the first place, still preserving in all other things the same honour and duty to their Prince. And after the same manner Origen answers Celsus, when he asks him why the Christians cannot worship and appease the Emperours, because (says he.) there is only one God, that ought to be worshipt, the Lord of all, and he is best appeased with devout Prayers, but the favour of Princes is not to be courted by such mean and dishonourable obsequiousness, as is inconsistent with true Piety, or such servile Flatteries as are unworthy a generous man, and one that esteems magnanimity to be the greatest of Vertues, but as far as our Piety to God will permit, we are not so frantick that we should wilfully exasperate the displeasure of Kings, to deliver us to torments and death; for we are so taught in our Books, let every Soul be sub-

Lib. 8. p.
4. 10.

ject to the higher Powers, for there is no Power, but is of God, therefore he that resisteth the power, resisteth the Ordinance of God. And these words are to be understood in their plain and natural sense. And their Sense is so very plain, that it is impossible to fasten any other Sense upon them beside their own. With all these imminent Doctors of the Church agrees the Answer of that pious and resolute Prelate Dyonysius of Alexandria in his Examination before Emilianus Prefect of Egypt, that we worship one God, the Maker of all things, and who bestowed the Empire upon their most Sacred Majesties, Valerianus and Gallienus, to him we offer up our daily Prayers for the safety of their Empire, that it may continue firm and unshaken forever.

§. 10. And as for the Latins they kept pace with, not to say that they out-ran the Greeks in the same Track of Loyalty. Irenæus Scholar to Policarp writing against the Gnosticks, who taught that the Powers of the Earth ought to be obeyed, because they were set up not by God but by the Devil, has stated the Obligation to the duty of Obedience upon its true and proper Principles. First from divers passages of Scripture, expressly commanding it, Secondly from the Providence of God,

Lib. 5. c.
24.

God, who sets up Kings for the preservation of Mankind, lest they should prey upon one another like the Fish of the Sea. And lastly to prevent the Objection that God would not set up bad Kings, he replies, that *by whose command they were born men, by his command they were ordained Kings, fit for the times in which, and the people over whom they reign, for some are given for a Punishment, others for a Blessing to their Subjects, all to all People as they deserve, the just Judgment of God equally extending to all.* Which is a full declaration not only of the Loyalty of the Primitive Christians, but of the Principles upon which it was grounded. *Tertullian* in the time of *Alexander Severus* under the rage of the fifth Persecution, that was very bloody and severe, writ his admirable Apology in imitation of *Justin Martyr*, and for a Foundation of his Plea, states the true condition of the Christian Church in this World. *Scit se peregrinam in terris agere; inter extraneos facile inimicos invenire; cæterum genus, sedem, spem, gratiam, dignitatem in cælis habere. Unum gessit interdum ne ignorata damnetur.* 'She knows her self to be 'but a Stranger and Pilgrim in this World; 'and cannot but expect to meet with 'Enemies in a Foreign Country; but

'her Kindred, her habitation, her hope, 'her favour, and her honour all dwell in 'the World to come. She has but one 'thing to request or indeed to challenge, 'that she may not be condemn'd unheard. Here is no pleading any exemption from the Imperial Judicatures upon the Account of Christian Priviledges; but he offers himself and his cause to a fair and impartial Tryal, and he is so confident of its innocence, as to desire no other favour but only the Justice of being heard. Neither does he any where complain of their punishing such Actions as belonged not to their cognizance, but only of the Illegality of their Officers Proceedings, in that they were condemned unheard and unexamined. And though they were so, yet he no where appeals from their Courts, but only presses them to examine and search into their cause, and so stipulates in the name of the Christian Church, to stand or fall by their Judgment. And as for their strict Loyalty to their Prince he farther pleads, 'that they pray for 'the Emperors that God would grant 'them long Life, a quiet Reign, and undisturbed Family, Valiant Armies, Faithful Counsellors, Obedient Subjects, and 'whatever else they can desire either as 'Men or Emperors; and then bids them 'proceed

' proceed to murder them, and tear their
 ' Souls from their Bodies, whilst they are
 ' praying for their Emperors Happiness.
 ' And therefore you that think that we
 ' have no concern for the Safety of *Cæsar*,
 ' look into our Books and learn from them
 ' with what Redundancy of Kindness we
 ' are commanded to pray for our Enemies
 ' and Persecutors, and who are more so
 ' than those by whose Authority we are
 ' condemned as Criminals. But beside
 ' that we are expressly injoynd to pray for
 ' Kings, and all that are in Authority.
 ' We revere the Wisdom of God in the
 ' Emperors, that sets them over the Na-
 ' tions, we acknowledge that Character
 ' in them, that God has imprest upon
 ' them, and therefore we will wish them
 ' safe, whom he would have so. But what
 ' do I say any more of the Christians duty
 ' and even Religion towards the Emperor,
 ' whom they are particularly bound to
 ' honour as one chosen by their God? so
 ' that I may well say, that *Cæsar* is most
 ' of all ours, as being set over us by our
 ' God, &c. And a while after he boldly
 ' demands, Whether there were ever found
 ' among the Christians any *Cassii*, *Nigri*,
 ' and *Albini*, three known Rebels; the
 ' first against the Emperor *Verus*, the o-
 ' ther two against *Severus*. And in his
 Apology

Apology to the *Prefect Scapula*, he tells
 him that we are slander'd about the Im-
 perial Majesty, and yet there could never
 any of the *Albinian*, *Nigrian*, or *Castrian*
 Rebels be found among the Christians.
 ' A Christian is no Mans Enemy, much
 ' less the Emperor's, for knowing that he
 ' is appointed by God, he cannot but
 ' Love, Reverence, and Honour him, and
 ' pray for his safety; and therefore we
 ' worship the Emperour, as far as it is
 ' lawful for us, and convenient for him,
 ' viz. as a Man next under God, only
 ' less than him, and deriving his whole
 ' Authority from him. It is an excellent
 Passage in *Minutius Felix*, who lived not
 long after *Tertullian*, concerning the calm
 and peaceable Magnanimity of Christians.
 ' How delightful a Spectacle is it to God,
 ' when a Christian encounters Sorrow,
 ' when with a composed mind he meets
 ' threatnings and Torments, when with
 ' smiles he insults over the noise of Death,
 ' and the dread of the Executioner, when
 ' he asserts his liberty against Kings
 ' and Princes, and yields only to God,
 ' whose he is; when with the Triumph
 ' of a Conquerour he has the better of
 ' the Judge, who gives Sentence against
 ' him, for he overcomes who gains what
 ' he fights for? That is the only Chri-
 stian

stian Combat, Courage, and Submission. And therefore it is very well observed by the learned Lawyer *Baldwin*, in his *Prolegomena* to this acute Author, that *Cætilius* the Heathen, though he were in all other things a very bold Calumniator, and insisted fiercely upon all the vulgar slanders against the Christians, yet he never durst charge them with the least suspicion of Disloyalty or Rebellion. To which they might have added, That though they were usually indicted of Treason by their Enemies, yet the only proof of it, was their refusing to Sacrifice by the Emperour's Genius: And setting that one act of Idolatry aside, there is not any one charge upon Record of any one act of Disloyalty, and that (as says the learned Lawyer) was the glory of our Ancestors, that they would be provoked by no injuries to any thought of Hostility against Lawful Sovereigns, howsoever barbarously they were treated by them; or enter into any Conspiracies against them, though at that time they were frequent and plausible, as being always mindful what became their Patience, Meekness, Modesty, and Sobriety; so far were they from being Turbulent and Seditious, and running mad with a thirst of Revenge. And in reality if they had

had behaved themselves otherwise, they had laid waist the very Foundations both of their own Religion, and all humane Society too.

And to mention no more, *St. Cyprian* is as express for Passive Obedience join'd with Loyal Prayers as any of his Predecessors: *Nemo nostrum quando apprehenditur, reluctatur, nec se adversus injustam violentiam vestram, quamvis nimis & copiosus noster sit Populus, ulciscitur. Innocentes nocentibus cedunt, insontes pœnis & cruciatibus acquiescunt.* 'None of us, when he is apprehended, resists, and though our numbers are great and considerable, we do not think of revenging our selves against your unjust Oppressions: the Innocent submit to the Guilty, and sit down quietly under Pains and Tortures. And then a little after this he adds, 'That though we are treated thus barbarously, yet we cease not to pray for the expulsion of your Enemies, for seasonable Rains, for removing or abating publick Calamities, begging of God day and night with the greatest importunity for your peace and safety that are our Persecutors. And in this time they were so tender of doing any thing offensive to the Civil Government, or any way contrary to their Com-

*Ad demetri-
trianum.*

Epist. 13.
Edit. Ox-
on.

Commands, that they judged it not law-
ful for a Christian, that was banish'd for
his Religion, to return into his own Coun-
try without the leave and warrant of Au-
thority. So that St. *Cyprian* reckoning
up in his Epistle to the Confessors in the
Decian Persecution, divers scandals, that
some of them had given to the Christian
Church, particularly of some that lived
in continual Debauchery, and Uncleanness
either from their very Baptisme or their
Confession, next to these he tells them,
*Alius in eam Patriam, unde extorris-
ctus est, regreditur, ut deprehensus, non
quasi Christianus, sed quasi nocens per-
at. Another returns, back into his Coun-
trety, from whence he had been commanded
into Banishment, where, if he be ap-
prehended, let him know that he suffers
not as a Christian, but as a Malefactor.*
From all which passages it is evident be-
yond all contradiction, that it was the
unanimous sense of all the most eminent
Doctors of the ancient Church, that no-
thing was more contrary to the whole
frame, and constitution, of Christianity
then resistance to the Civil Government
in any case whatsoever, and that in case
of Persecution, and Oppression for it,
Passive Obedience was their indispensable
duty, which upon any provocation to vio-
late

late any way, was judged no less a Crime
then, renouncing the Christian Faith. It
were easie to have collected a vast num-
ber of passages out of the Writings of the
Ancients to the same purpose, and divers
such Collections, have been made by
Learned Men, but I have selected these
peculiar passages out of my own little ob-
servation, because they do not only give
us their Opinion, but the ground upon
which they build it, from the reason and
the nature of their Religion, and that
gives it a perpetual and unalterable Oblig-
ation in all times and cases; and how
various soever the Affairs of the World
may be, yet this duty can never be al-
ter'd by any change of circumstances;
because it is as unchangeable as the na-
ture of our Religion; so that as long as
Christianity lasts, it must for ever equally
oblige all Christians under all circumstan-
ces and in all conditions.

Neither do they teach the Doctrine of
Non-resistance meerly as Doctors of the
Christian Church, & as it is a Law of their
Religion, but as Philosophers, or men
that understood the Interest of Mankind,
and the Original of Government. For the
reason which they unanimously alledge
for it, is this, that all Governments in
the World are every where fix'd by the
M Provi-

Providence of the Supreme Governor of it, and for that reason they take it to be their Wisdom, as well as their Duty, peaceably to acquiesce in the settled and establish'd Government, how ill soever administr'd, and leave the punishment of its ill-administration by particular persons, to him from whom they received their Authority. Now this Doctrine of Non-resistance or Submission being so universally taught, and that upon such unalterable principles and reasons, one would think it enough to set it above all manner of exception or evasion; And yet such is the perverseness of the several Anti-Christian Factions of Christendom, that they break through all these Restraints into all the licentiousness of Rebellion. But this they do with that impudence against the common sense of Mankind, and that violence to their own Consciences, that they would have done much more prudently to have wholly slighted and rejected the Authority of the ancient *Lacrymists*, then admitting it, to make so poor and dull a mistake from its obligation. For they all agree in this one slender and inconsistent Plea, that this Doctrine was only suited to their present necessity, because they then wanted power to make resistance. That is to say in one soft and friendly

friendly word, that they were a Race of the rankest Knaves and Fools that ever appeared among Mankind. That when our Saviour had strictly forbid it as inconsistent with the nature of his Religion, and the Fundamental Doctrine of the Cross. That when the Apostles reinforced the same precept with all the earnestness and all the motives in the World, particularly out of duty to God and their Religion. And that when the whole succession of Christians from their time to After-ages profess'd and practiced the same duty upon the same Principles. To tell us after all this, that 'tis all Hypocrisy and Dissimulation, nothing but a Primitive Jesuitical Trick to blind their Governors with fine Stories of the unlawfulness of taking up Arms in their own defence, when the only reason of it was, that they had no Arms to take up, and that it was nothing but sufficient strength and ability to resist, that kept them off from actual Rebellion, This is such a contradiction to all their avowed Protections, to the Notoriety of the matter of Fact itself, to all their Apologies, and to their own defiance of so durty a surmise, as amounts to no better account then giving them all the open Lye, and for that reason I think it would have been

much better to have at first once for all trampled upon the Authority of such tame Creatures, then to shift it off with such a senseless and shameless Evasion. And upon that account I suppose it was, that it was at last forsaken in our late Rebellion, and new pretences devised in its stead; but of such a daring boldness and blasphemy against Heaven itself, that they would sooner affright a wise man to hear them, then puzzle a Fool to answer them, and those are the prophane Pleas of the Independants to justify his Majesties Murder, viz. New Discoveries and Revelations from Heaven it self. It seems the Villany was so horrid in itself, that nothing less could bear out their confidence in committing it, then the immediate Authority of God himself. And thus they are not ashamed to tell us, 'That the Doctrine of Non-resistance was not a reasonable priviledge for that age, and therefore not discover'd, because it would have hindred the birth of *Antichrist*, whose coming into the World, God had preordained, and for the more easie letting of him in, and the appointed continuance of him in his Throne, there was a special necessity that no such Opinion as this of the lawfulness of resistance, whether true or untrue, should be taught

taught and believed. Whereas now on the contrary that the time of God's preordination and purpose for the downfall of *Antichrist* drawing near, there is a kind of necessity that those truths, which have hitherto slept, should now be awakened, as the necessary means to ruin *Antichrist*, particularly that God should reveal to his faithful Ministers and Servants the just bounds and limits of Authority and Power, and the just and full extent of the lawful Liberties of those that live in subjection. This is the sum of the new discoveries of *John Goodwin* in his Book Entituled the *Anti-Cavalier*. And there are divers passages to the same purpose in the Writings of *John Owen* about the same time, who has warranted all the Villanies of *Cromwel* and his Independants, even the King's Murder itself, by pretending to new Lights and Revelations from Heaven. Particularly, *That when God is doing great things, he gives glorious manifestations of his excellencies to his secret ones. So that he that is call'd to serve Providence in high things without some especial discovery of God, works in the dark, and knows not whither he goes, and what he does, such an one travels in the Wilderness without a directing Cloud. Clear shining from God must*

Eben Ezra,
p. 1415,
16.

be at the bottom of deep labouring with God. What is the Reason that so many in our days set their hands to the Plough, and look back again? Begin to serve Providence in great things but cannot finish? Give over in the heat of the day! They never had such Revelation of the mind of God upon their Spirits, such a discovery of his Excellencies, as might serve for a bottom of such undertakings. Men must know that if God hath not appear'd to them in brightness, and shewn them the horns in his hand, hid from others, though they think highly of themselves, they'll deny God twice and thrice before the close of the work of this Age. Hence is the suiting of great Light and great work in our days. Let new Light be derided whilst men please, he will never serve the Will of God in this Generation, who sees not beyond the line of foregoing Ages. But what is this new Light, that was never seen in the World before? to this it is fairly answered, plainly the peculiar Light of this Generation, is that discovery which the Lord hath made to his people of the mystery of Civil and Ecclesiastical Tyranny. By which a Monarchy of some hundred years continuance, always affecting, and at length wholly degenerating into Tyranny, was destroyed, pull'd down, and swallowed up: a great and mighty Potentate,

Serm. to
the Parl.
April 19.
1649, P.
35.

tentate, that had caused terror in the Land of the Living, and laid his Sword under his head, was brought to punishment for Blood, as he expresses it in his Thanksgiving for his present Majesties overthrow at Worcester, p. 15, where he very familiarly bestows upon him the honourable Titles of a Tyrant full of Revenge, a man of Blood, a Son of Belial, Absalom, and Sheba the Son of Bichri. And lastly, he encourages the Rebels and Traytors the day immediately after his late Majesties Murther, with a *jacta est Alea*, i. e. the cast of a Dye thrown by the hand of God himself, whose Providence (he says) must be served in it, according to the discovery made of his own unchangeable Will. But such pretences as these are such desperate pieces of Villany in themselves, so framed to serve any wickedness in the World, such rank Blasphemy and Rebellion, so destructive of all Government and Society, that for any man to make use of them is the very height of Prophaneness, and when men are come so far, it is in vain to confute them, because 'tis impossible to object worse things against them then they are ready to own. But however they unawares make a fair confession that their own Doctrine and Practice is contrary to the Doctrine of the Gospel

and the Practice of its Primitive Professors, and then we care not whence they receive it; for whencesoever it comes, it makes them Apostates from the Christian Faith, that did not only suppress it, but expressly condemn it, so that if their new discovery be true, there is an end of the Gospel. To that height of Prophane-ness were these men blown up by their success in Villany, that they would rather renounce their Saviour openly before God and the World, then quit their Rebellion. Though the highest aggravation of it is, that after so daring a defiance to the Christian Religion, they dare pretend to the highest claims of Gospel Purity. But that has ever been the Policy of *Enthusiasts* to piece out their notorious forfeiture of all Integrity with infinite pride and confidence. But thus we see it is, and thus it must be, that if men once forsake the Doctrine of the Cross, there is no stopping till they come to the Gospel of the *Pigeon* and the *Seymten*. And thus having proved the first Proposition, the Doctrine and Practice of Submission and Passive Obedience under the severest Cruelties and Persecutions, I now proceed to the second thing to be consider'd in this Interval, *viz.* That notwithstanding this absolute and entire submission to the

Civil

Civil Powers under all Persecutions, they kept up a strict Government and vigorous Discipline within themselves by vertue of their own Authority. And that will be a new demonstration from experience and master of Fact, that the highest exercise of Ecclesiastical Power (for then it was at the height) is so far from interfering with the Civil, that it is every way compliant with the lowest state of Subjection to it.

§. 11. In the first place it is already made evident that our Saviour by his own appointment, settled Governours over his Church, and that these were the Apostles and their Successors the Bishops through all Ages. Now the proper office of all Government, is to see to the execution of all Laws already in force; and to enact new ones upon particular occasions and emergencies, as they shall judge most advantageous to the present state of the Society. And this was the work of the Apostles and Primitive Bishops, always to promote the Practice of their Masters own Laws among his Subjects, and as oft as it was needful, to make occasional provisions for the peace and order of the Church. Of the former I need say nothing, because it is granted and supposed

on all hands, but of the latter, it will be requisite to give a full account, because though it is the only means that our Saviour has provided for the Unity of his Church, and though by the use of it the Church was preserved in Peace and unity in its best and purest times, and lastly, though without it there can be no Government in the Church, nor any bar to endless confusions, yet I know not by what blind and unhappy fate it is become a popular and a reigning principle among us. All Innovators lay it at the bottom of their new Projects of Reformation, it is the fundamental Principle of *Grotius* as well as all other *Erastians*, *Legislativam Potestatem jure divino non competere ecclesiae*, that the Church has no Legislative Power by Divine Right. At present to say nothing to the falshood of the Proposition itself, yet methinks *Gratius*, who was so well acquainted with the Records of the ancient Church, of all men should not have said it, when it was so constantly both challenged and put in practice, and that not only all the time before the Emperors became Christians, but after. But he was then a young man, and the Book is written with great rawness, and betrays lamentable want of consideration. It is the very Foundation of all Independency, that nothing ought to be imposed by the

De Imperio
cap. 8. S.
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Governours of the Church upon the Members of it, but what is clearly revealed in the word of God. And that there is no other Rule of Unity then that rule prescribed by our Lord himself, which is so far from truth, so inconsistent with the Being of a Church, that it is a meer contradiction to the Nature and the use of Government, whose proper Office it is to make Provisions for the Peace and good Order of the Society, upon all occasions, by the common rules of Prudence and Discretion, and such things it is necessary to leave to the judgment and determination of Men, because their convenience and usefulness is alterable with change of times and circumstances, and therefore must be left to the liberty of the Governors of the Church to impose or remove them as they shall judge most suitable to the present State of things. This was the standing rule in the Primitive Church, that points of Faith were unalterable, and when they were once determin'd by the Judgment of the Catholick Church, they were never after that to be debated, but as for all Laws of Discipline they were alterable with change of times and circumstances. And to name one for all, *Regula quidem fidei* (*says Tertullian*) *una omnino est, sola immobilis & irreformabilis. Hac lege fi-*

De Virgin.
Vol. 6. 1.

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dei manente, cætera jam disciplinæ & conversationis admittunt novitatem correctionis. *The Rule of Faith is always the same, this alone is unchangeable, and unreformable. But as this remains forever, so matters of Discipline and Government admit the Novelty of change and amendment.* So that next to the Fundamental Charter of being a Church, this is the grand Principle of its Government, that its Governours be endued with an Authority of imposing some things that are not required in the Word of God, because the Church must be govern'd as all humane Societies are, *i.e.* by men of common sense, that have Wit enough to judge what is fit to be done upon any emergent cases, and whose Authority is sufficient to oblige the Members of the Society to their Decrees; and without it there could neither be Church nor Government. So that this principle is so little suited to the state of Church-Purity, (as the Schismatiques pretend) that it is only set up as an impregnable pretence for everlasting Schisms and Divisions. For it was never started or so much as thought of till t'other day, when the Puritan Faction for want of something more material to object against the Constitutions of the Church, were forced at last to make this

their main quarrel, that they were not prescribed in the Word of God. And as long as they were resolved to stand to that Exception, they were secure in their Schism; for it is an Objection not against the particular Constitutions of this Church, but the practice of the Universal Church, and the exercise of any power in all Churches of the World, and therefore it being so good a Fund for Confusion, it is for that reason so carefully nursed by the Independent Faction at this day; it is the result of all *J. O's.* Books about Schism, because it makes all peace and settlement an impossible thing, when there is no such rule of worship or discipline as is pretended, by attending to which the Unity of the Church is to be preserved; and therefore to refer us to a means of Peace that is not in being, is to leave us remediless. And if the Church may not make occasional Provisions to restrain some mens extravagancies, and to settle good order, all men are let loose to all the follies in the World, and it will look more like a *Bedlam* than a Christian Church. In short, it serves to no other purpose then to be an everlasting pretence of Sedition, when it takes away not only from the Church, but from the Civil Government too all Authority of making any Laws for the settlement

ment of Religion. And yet this very Principle of Confusion, this Darling of Independency, this bulwark of all Schism is crept into the Church of *England* it self, or some pretenders to it, and is laid down by our Reconcilers and Peacemakers as the first Rule of Accommodation between the Church of *England*, and the present Dissenters. Though if it were admitted, the different Parties would be so far from being taken into the Bosom or the Peace of the Church, that it would only widen the differences, and harden them in their Schisms. For first the contest is not primarily about unscriptural Impositions, but about divine Commands; they contend that their Form of Church Government is of God's Institution, and that the form now establish't in *England* is an humane Government set up against it, and destructive of it; this is the whole design of Mr. B's Treatise of Episcopacy, and this has ever been the main controversy from the beginning of the Schism, whether the Episcopal or the Classical Government were set up by our Saviour in the Christian Church (for Men were not so unthinking in those days as to imagine he should set up the Society of his Church without settling any Govern-

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ment in it) and therefore it is but an imperfect, a partial, and a treacherous account of the Separation, to state the controversy only in Ceremonies; when the main controversy has been from the beginning to this very day about a matter of Divine Right, and therefore to take no notice of that in the History of the Schism, is to intimate, that as to that part of the controversy, neither had the better of the other, but they both equally contended about what never was, and that all the blame of the Separatists is their refusing to submit to some lawful Impositions; But that reaches not their cause, the ground of their Separation is pretended Divine Law, they must be beaten out of that, or they must be let alone. But secondly, this Principle of accommodation by rejecting unscriptural Conditions of Communion, would be so far from reconciling the Dissenters to the Church, that it would only give up the Churches Cause to their demands, and justify them in their Schism, because they dissent not from her in any matters clearly reveal'd, which alone the Church has Power to impose; and to charge the Church of Tyranny, for daring to impose any other conditions of Communion, then what are imposed by Divine Authority.

rity. An excellent way of accommodation this in behalf of the Church of *England*, to condemn her whole practice of illegal and, unwarrantable, Usurpation, and allow the Pleas of the Dissenters just and reasonable: And, what is worst of all, to take away all Government in the Church for ever, and the Church it self too, when it is evident from common sense, that it can never subsist without a Legislative Authority within it self, but that I shall have occasion to discourse of more copiously hereafter, when I come to shew what injury is done to the Church of *England* by these false Principles of accommodation. I shall at present content my self with proving it by experience, and representing the particular Laws made by the Ancient Governors of the Church from time to time, to secure and provide for its own Peace and Tranquility. And by it I shall make good these three considerable Points. First, the great Authority inherent in them, and independent on any Civil Power. Secondly, their great wisdom in the use and exercise of it, for by the particulars it will appear, that they generally acted upon wise and prudent reasons. And thirdly, the absolute necessity of it, when we shall see by the Example

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of every age, that there is no way of preserving any manner of Peace in the Church without it.

And to begin with the first Decree made by the Apostles themselves, to accommodate the contrary prejudices of Jews and Gentiles: If they had obliged the Gentiles to comply with the whole Law of *Moses*, that would have look'd like an attempt to bring them under the old intolerable Bondage, and tempt them rather to renounce Christianity then submit to such a grievous Yoke: And if they had wholly exempted them from the Mosaic Law, that would have as much endangered the Apostacy of the Jews, thinking that they should thereby have renounced the God of the Law; for it was not easie to every capacity to distinguish between rejecting the Law and the Lawgiver. And therefore to satisfy and avoid the prejudices of both Parties, they agreed *To lay no greater burthens* Acts 15.
then these necessary things, that they abstain 20.
from Meats offer'd to Idols, and from fornication, and from things strangled, and from blood. Where by things necessary, it is plain that they mean things necessary at that time and place; for that they were not so in all times and places is evident, not only from the

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direction of their Synodical Epistle to the particular Churches of *Syria* and *Cilicia*, but from their not imposing the same Decree upon other Churches, that were not in the same Circumstances. In the Churches of *Syria* and *Cilicia*, that confined upon *Judea*, the Jews were very numerous, and therefore to avoid offending, *i. e.* tempting them to renounce the Christian Faith, it was requisite to make it a standing rule to them at that time, that all Christians abstain from the Oblations to Idols, and that would wholly prevent their great fear of Idolatry. But on the contrary, because the Church of *Corinth* consisted chiefly of Gentiles, the same rule was not made peremptory and universal to them, but they were left to their own liberty to eat Meats offered to Idols, as they judged most consistent with Christian prudence and charity, as they are directed by their Ghostly Father *St. Paul*. This is all that I can make of that great Council; and though they were endued with the Holy Ghost, yet they proceeded by no other Rule than common prudence and discretion. And if they had taken the same method that our Schismatiques and Pacificators would oblige the present Church to, to search for a determination of this casual

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dispute in their Masters own Laws, I doubt they would have been very much at a loss to have found any thing like such a decree amongst all his Precepts. And yet there was as much reason that they should refer all Acts of Government to be determin'd by his own express Decree, as that their Successors should refer them to theirs.

But next to this Apostolical Synod, the Apostolical Canons are the greatest and earliest Demonstration of the Legislative Authority of the Christian Church, being compiled by their next Successors in the second and third Centuries, by which we understand the true settlement of the Church as the Apostles left it, for all the Canons relating to Government are no new Laws, but only declarations of old Customs; so that though they were not Apostolical Laws, they were true and early Records of Apostolical Customs, and by them the practice of Church-Government was so entirely settled, that they were ever after the Rule and Pattern to the determinations of following Councils. And most of the chief Canons, both General and Provincial, were only Ratifications of these old Decrees, to recover their just Authority, when any of them had been neglected

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or violated, or additional provisions in pursuance of their general design in new particular Cases. For which it seems every Age found matter enough to suppress some Mens extravagant and wanton fancies; and it was the new rising of Schisms and Heresies that gave occasion to enacting all the Laws of the Church. But these Apostolical Canons being as it were the *Institutes* of *Magna Charta* of the Ecclesiastical Laws, and being withal enacted in this Period of time, that we are now in, by pure Ecclesiastical Authority, I shall give a brief view of them, to let the Reader see the exact Model of the Primitive Church, as reduced to practice, and brought to perfection by the Apostles and their immediate Successors. In the first place therefore, because nothing has so great an influence upon the welfare of the Church, as the setting up good and wise Governors over it, great care is taken against rash Ordination of Bishops; so that though every Bishop has an inherent Right in himself to convey his own Authority to another; yet is it here fixt, and has remain'd so through all Ages, as a standing Law to the Church, that every Bishop be Consecrated by three Bishops at least, or two in cases of necessity. Now though this Rule has

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been observed and practiced in all Churches over all the World, and is so highly useful to the good Government of the Church, by not entrusting a matter of such weight to the discretion of a single Person, yet I believe it will be a very hard task to find any thing like a clear Precept requiring it in the Holy Scriptures. So apparently repugnant is the principle of the Projectors of Accommodation against unscriptural impositions to the very first Law that was made in the Christian Church after the Apostles, and if they pleased it might as well be used to take away this prudent Practice as any other Ceremony whatsoever. Now the Bishop being with this great care and caution admitted to his Trust, he was consider'd in a treble capacity; first in relation to his own Diocese; secondly to the Bishops of the Province; thirdly to the Catholick Church. Within his own Diocese he had the Supreme Government; for every Diocese, though it be but a Member of the Catholick Church, is yet a distinct Society of it self, and ordinarily Govern'd by a Jurisdiction within it self, and that was by the Bishop and his Colledge of Presbyters; in which he enjoyed such a Supremacy, that no act of the Presbyters could be valid without

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his Consent and Authority; and yet his Supremacy was so confin'd, that he could as little act without the concurrence of his Presbyters as they without his. Now this Episcopal Superiority acting only in conjunction with the Presbyters, was the most proper method that could have been contriv'd to prevent confusion on one hand, and Tyranny on the other. For where a Body of Men act in an equality of Power without some real Authority above them, nothing can be expected but perpetual Factions and Animosities. And on the other side a Power purely Monarchical, without any Associates in the Government, may easily, if it please, degenerate into Tyranny, and when it does so, has nothing to restrain it; and though Tyranny be an ugly thing in Civil Government, yet in the Ecclesiastical it is far more indecent, because Church Power is founded upon the profession of Meekness and Humility. But though the Bishops ever associated the Presbyters in Authority with them from the time of the Apostles, yet I imagine that there are no Footsteps of any Divine Command requiring it, though its early practice may prove it an Apostolical Custom and Tradition, but if it was, it was (for any thing we know) their

their own voluntary act, as becoming the modesty of Christian Governors.

But the Jurisdiction of the Church being thus seated in the Bishop and his Colledge of Presbyters, matters were so effectually ordered, that their Acts were not only valid within their own Precincts, but in the Catholick Church all the World over. Thus it is Enacted that if any Clergy-man or Lay-man excommunicate or any way unfit to be received, shall be received in another City (*i. e.* according to the Language of those times, in another Diocese) without commendatory Letters, both he that receives him and he that is received, shall be excommunicate. And if any Clergy-man shall quit his own Diocese without his Bishops leave, he shall be degraded from his office. And the Bishop that shall receive such an one in his Clerical Capacity shall be excommunicate, *ὡς διδρακταλὸς ἀναξίας* as a Master of confusion, or an enemy to the peace and unity of the Catholick Church. No Clergy-man that is excommunicate by his own Bishop shall be absolved by another, as long as that Bishop lives. And no Clergy-man of what Order soever, not a Bishop himself is to be so much as relieved, without commendatory Letters. No Bishop is to ordain in

Can. 12.

Can. 15.

Can. 16.

Can. 32.

Can. 33.

Can. 35.

another's Diocese upon pain of Deposition. There is no Flight or Appeal from one single Bishop to another, but if any man thought himself aggrieved by his own Bishop, he had power of Appeal to the Bishops of the Province, who were to assemble twice a year in Council to Debate Matters of great weight in the Church, especially to review the Acts of Government in every particular Diocese of the Province, that if they found any wrong Judgment, they might reverse it, or if any harsh or too severe, they might mitigate it. Here is all the care in the World taken to preserve the Efficacy of the Discipline in every Church, and it was so religiously observed in the Primitive times, that I do not remember one instance of its being violated till the time of the *Constantinopolitan* Usurpation. And it is reckoned among the many other strange Enormities of *Dioscorus* by the Council of *Calcedon* in their Epistle to the Emperours *Valentinian* and *Marcian*, in which they give an account of the reasons of his Deposition, viz. That he had received several Persons legally excommunicate by his single Authority in contempt of the Holy Canons, which command, that those that are excommunicate by one, be not received in-

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to Communion by another. And in pursuance of the foremention'd Apostolical Canons, to preserve the Authority of every Bishop within his own Jurisdiction, it was afterward decreed by the *Nicene* can. 5. Council, that there shall be no redress, no nor complaint against the Sentence of the Diocesan Bishop; unless it be at the meeting of the Provincial Synod. And it is said that at the motion of *Atticus* Bishop of *Constantinople* for prevention of Frauds and Cheats in Canonical Epistles, such an artificial form was contrived by the Council, as was impossible to be counterfeited. The form is extant in *Gratian Distinct. 73.* it is somewhat remarkable and very well worth the perusal. But it is plain that they confined every Bishops power within his own Circuit, and every Clergy-man to his own Bishops Jurisdiction. And all the following Councils stick close to the same principles of Discipline, though the *African* Bishops were more strict then other Churches in this as well as all other points of Government, no Travelling among them without dimissory Letters. And if any Bishop CAN. 26. carried a complaint to any Forraign CAN. 31. Church, he stood *ipso facto* excommunicate to all the *African* Churches.

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But lastly, beside this form of Provincial Government, in which all matters of common concernment were determined by the major Vote of the Episcopal Synod, and by which all the Diocesses within the Province were united and cemented into one Communion, there was a common tie of Government between the Bishops of several Provinces, in whose Concord consisted the Unity of the Catholick Church so much talked of by the Ancients. And this was chiefly kept up by Communication of Synodical Letters, which was not an Arbitrary correspondence, but an indispensable duty of every Church to every Church, so that whatever Bishop neglected it, he was for that reason cast by all others out of the Communion of the Catholick Church, and by this device every Act of Discipline in every Church was of force in all Churches all the World over, and whoever was taken in a Member of one Church, had a right from it to communicate in all Churches, and whoever was cast out of the same, stood excommunicate to the whole Christian World. And this was done with all security and expedition by settling the power of correspondence in every Province upon the *Metropolitan*, and by the mutual intercourse of *Metro-*
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politans, all the general Affairs of the Church were transacted. And therefore upon the choice of a new *Metropolitan*, it was the custom to signify his Election to all the rest, that they might know to whom to direct their corresponding and communicatory Letters. Thus the Synod of *Antioch*, that deposed *Paulus Samosatenus* in the year 270, write to *Dionysius* Bishop of *Rome*, and *Maximus* Bishop of *Alexandria*, and all other Churches through the whole World, that they had deposed *Paulus*, and placed *Domnus* in his stead, and this, say they, *We therefore signify to you, that you might* Enstb. hist. l. 7. c. 30.
write to him, and receive communicatory Letters from him. Thus both *Cornelius* Epist. 42. and *Novatian*, when they contended for the Bishoprick of *Rome*, acquaint *St. Cyprian* with their Elections, who communicates the matter to all the Bishops within his Province, and by that means the Election of *Cornelius* was approved not only by himself, but by all his Colleagues, as he always calls them. And when *St. Cyprian* writes to *Steven* Bishop of *Rome* to procure the Deposition of *Marcian* Bishop of *Arles*, he desires, when it is done, to inform him who is chosen into his place, that he might know to whom to direct his Letters, and his Brethren,

Epist. 67. thren, *significa planè nobis quis in locum Marciani Arelate fuerit substitutus, ut sciamus ad quem fratres nostros dirigere, & cui scribere debeamus.* And when *Fortunius* the Donatist Bishop had the confidence to affirm to *St. Austin* that his Church was the Catholick Church, and kept up the Catholick Communion, *St. Austin* rebukes his presumption only by demanding of him whether himself kept correspondence with other Bishops by communicatory Letters. And when *Pope Zosimus* took upon him to constitute *Patroclus* Bishop of *Arles*, Metropolitan of the Province of *Vienna*, he declares that no *literæ formatæ*, or corresponding Letters shall be valid, but what are sign'd by him. And so *Pope Vigilius*, when he restored the same Prehominence to *Aurelius* Bishop of *Arles*, after some considerable interruption of it, annexes this Authority to the See, *ne quis sine formatâ tuæ fraternitatis ad longinquiora loca audeat proficisci*, that no man without his Certificate ought to be own'd in Forraign Churches. By all which it appears that the Power of granting Letters communicatory out of the Province, was one branch of the Metropolitick Jurisdiction. And that beside the power of summoning Provincial Councils was the only thing that he was empowr'd

Epist. 163.
v. Carthag.
collat. p.
631. *Edi-*
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Epist. Vi-
gil. 10.

empowr'd to do by his own single Authority. For the practice of it being altogether occasional and uncertaiñ, and yet very frequent, it was necessary to entrust it with some single person; and for that, none fitter then the chief Bishop that resided in the chief City. And for the discharge of his trust he gave an account of this as well as all other parts of his Jurisdiction, in the Provincial Synod, that was assembled twice a year, to take a review of all things that concern'd the state of the whole Province in reference to all Churches without it, as well as of the Government of every particular Diocess within it. And thus by this subordination of Diocesan Bishops to Provincial Synods, and correspondence of Provincial Synods with each other, was the Government and Discipline of every Church effectual in all Churches, because no Member of one Church could be admitted into Communion with another without his Letters-Testimonial. Whereby it was so order'd that whoever was admitted into one Church, was admitted into all; and whoever was excommunicated out of one, was shut out of all. And no wonder then that the Canons of the Church are so careful in this part of Discipline between Church and Church, when the Efficacy

Efficacy of all other Acts of Discipline depend wholly upon it. For if a Sentence given in one Church, were not valid in every Church, it was in any mans power to elude it, only by slipping into the next Jurisdiction. And therefore because nothing could be more pernicious to the whole Discipline of the Catholick Church, then for the Bishop of one Church to receive and protect the Member of another against the Sentence or without the consent of his own Bishop, for that reason it is, that the Primitive Church was more watchful in that part of Discipline then any other, and for the same reason 'tis, that I have here traced its practice, thereby to direct us to the true way of restoring the effectual Discipline of the Ancient Church in Christendom. Which has for many ages been with scandal and dishonesty enough utterly defeated by one single Judicatures making it self a common Sanctuary against the Jurisdiction of all other Churches. And till this intolerable abuse and corruption be removed, it is in vain to hope for any amendment of the poor distressed and despised Estate of the Christian Church, and some men have been pleased to express it, whether out of scorn or pity I know not, but if the Church will crouch

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under such a pettifogging abuse, it deserves both.

But by the Premisses we see that whilst the Church preserved its Original liberty, it was able to preserve its Peace and Government too by observing the Canonical obligation to mutual Concord among all Christian Bishops, and that was so far from being arbitrary, that whoever broke the Rule, was by it immediately deprived of all Trust and Authority in it. And the practice of this Discipline was preserved entire and effectual in the Church, till the settlement of *Patriarchates*, who swallowed up this Authority, as they did all the other Metropolitcal Rights, into themselves, till at last the Pope swallowed up theirs. And then the whole power of granting commendatory or dimissory Letters, was in all Provinces entirely appropriated to their Legates, This is a short account of the Polity of the Primitive Church, and in it I think all things are so neatly composed for an easie, a civil, and an effectual Government, that I may safely challenge all the great pretenders to Politiques and Framers of Common-wealths, to find out a more useful or more artificial Scheme of Government.

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But beside these great and more lasting Rules of prudence and good order, they were forced to make many occasional Laws to restrain some Mens particular follies, and superstitions. I will for brevity sake instance only in two Apostolical Canons. In the fifth Canon, the Clergy of all degrees are forbid to put away their Wives upon pretence of Religion, under pain first of suspension, and if they persist deprivation. The occasion of which Canon was the Opinion of several Hereticks, especially the followers of *Saturninus*, of whom *Irenaeus* reports, *Nubere & generare à Satana dicunt esse* : that they affirm'd, That Marriage and Propagation was the Devil's invention ; and this Opinion grew prevalent in the second Century ; so that *Tertullian* among many others was carried away with it : But more especially, That the Clergy were bound to leave their Wives, that they might devote themselves the more entirely to Prayers, Fastings, and Religious Exercises, the Devotions of married Persons being less pure, and less acceptable to God. Now to stop this Superstition, as if Marriage were any way inconsistent with the Service of God, this Canon was at first Enacted, and is afterward Ratified by divers fol-

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lowing Councils. And the truth of it is, this Opinion of the great merit of Celibacy was one of the first Superstitions that invaded the Christian Church, and was in every Age more busie and forward than any other, though I do not find that it could ever obtain the force of Law in the Eastern Church, till the Council in *Trullo* in the year 691, by whom Bishops, and no other, are forbidden to cohabit with their Wives after Consecration ; and as that is the first Canon of this kind, so is it a flat contradiction to the Apostolical Canon. And though the Council endeavour to excuse it, yet they do but the more grossly entangle themselves by their own Apology, and instead of defending their fault, confess it. For when they have made the Canon, they tell us, that they do not intend thereby to contradict the Apostolical Canon, when the very making of it is an express contradiction to it. And in the very next Canon they condemn the Church of *Rome* for prohibiting marriage to Priests and Deacons, and make good their Decree from this very Canon, that equally allows it to all Orders. But above all commend me to *Gratian Distinct.* upon this Argument, who when he has 30. 31. in two whole Chapters recited several

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Ancient Canons of the Church against this Superstition, especially those severe ones of the Council of *Gangra*, and last of all this last mention'd Canon in *Trullo*, in which the marriage of Presbyters and Deacons is expressly warranted, he begins his next Chapter with this general Assertion, *Servanda est ergo continentia ab omnibus in sacris ordinibus constitutis*. And then proves it by the Decrees of later Popes, injoining Celibacy as a Duty of Piety to all Orders of the Clergy. But if they can thus confidently justify their Innovations out of the Ancients, by concluding contrary to their own avowed and express Sense; I confess they may make good any Cause, though I should think it would be much more advisable to let fall such a Cause, as can be no better way defended. Another remarkable Law that was Enacted during this Interval by meer Ecclesiastical Authority, was the exclusion of all voluntary Eunuchs from Holy Orders. And that was made upon occasion of the Heresie of the *Valesians*, who thought themselves bound to this severity against themselves, by too rigid an Interpretation of some passages of our Saviour, especially that of St. *Matthew's* Gospel, 19. 12. And the same Canon was after-

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ward renewed in a Synod at *Alexandria* against *Origen* upon the same account, and after that by the great Council of *Nice*, upon occasion of the fact of *Leontius*, who being a Presbyter, and very much delighting in the conversation of a young Virgin, by name *Eustolia*, and being upbraided with the scandal of using so much freedom with her, to prevent that, without losing her Society, he made the same attempt upon himself that *Origen* had done, for which he was deposed by the Council, though afterwards he was, contrary to the Canon, or rather in defiance to the Council, promoted by the *Eusebian* Faction, with whom he sided, to the great See of *Antioch*. But hereby we may see the necessity of a Legislative Power in the Church, without which there would be no means to restrain all the wild Conceits and Extravagancies that Superstition can blow into Mens fancies. So exorbitant a Principle is it, so inconsistent with the Peace and preservation of the Church, so absurd, so foolish, and contrary to the Common Sense of Mankind, that nothing ought to be imposed by the Governors of the Church, but what is expressly imposed by the Word of God. There are many more Examples in this Interval, both of

the settlement of that Polity in the Church that I have above described, and of divers wise and prudent Laws made upon particular Occasions ; but to avoid being too tedious, and yet to do the work effectually, I shall confine my self to the Writings of St. *Cyprian*, in whose time the State of the Church was brought to perfection, and who, I may be bold to say, understood it as well as any Writer of the Christian Church, either before or after his own time, and who has stated the whole matter with the greatest clearness and strength of Reason, and reduced it to practice with the most unblameable prudence and wisdom, and therefore I shall give a more particular and exact account of his Sense of the Government and Unity of the Catholick Church, both for the enlightening of some Mens minds, who pretend to be so dull, that they cannot understand how it should be govern'd in way of external Polity, and for a proof of the exact agreement of the Church of *England* in its design'd Model of Reformation, with this Ancient State of the Christian Church. This is made much more easie at this time by the late labour of a very learned Prelate of our own in digesting his Writings, that had hitherto lay not a little confus'd, into their

their due and exact order of time. For when we certainly know at what time, and upon what occasion every discourse was written, it must needs make it much more easie, and much more useful then otherwise the discourse could have made it self. For that Unity is a very desirable thing is agreed on all hands, the only dispute is, wherein it consists: Some will have it to be only an Union of Faith and Charity ; others of External Polity, so as that all Christians are some way or other United under one Government. And these we may subdivide into two Parties : Either those that place the Unity of the Catholick Church in a Subjection to one single Monarch : Or those that set up an Obligation to a Political Unity among all Churches under several Governments. So that though every particular Church or Diocess have Supreme Government within it self, as to all things that concern its own State, yet it is accountable to the Catholick Church, *i. e.* to all other Churches for the Peace of the whole. For though a Church may be at Unity within it self, yet if it do any thing injurious to the peace of Government in any other Church, it becomes Schismatical to the whole Body of the Catholick Church ; presuming, as much as in it

lies, to overthrow the Discipline of all other Churches. This as I take to be the true State of the Controversie, so to be St. Cyprian's sense of it.

§. 12. And the first Principle that runs through all his Writings, and lies at the bottom of all his Notions concerning Church Unity, is, that there is but one *Episcopacy* settled in the Church by Divine Appointment, distributed among the several Bishops of the Catholique Church, every one retaining the whole Power within his own Bishoprick, as he expresses it like a Lawyer, *Episcopatus unus est, cujus à singulis in solidum pars tenetur. There is but one Episcopacy, of which every one holds his own share with full Title and Possession.* For the word *in solidum* is a Law-term denoting a Plenitude of Title; so that though an Estate be divided into two parts, yet both inherit their own share *in solidum*; and so if two Men be bound for the same Debt; if they are bound each Man *in partem*, they are obliged to pay but half share, but if they are obliged *in solidum*, either of them is bound to pay all. And this is St. Cyprian's State of Episcopacy, that though many share the Authority, yet every Bishop has as full possession of his own

De unitate
Ecclis.

own share within it self, as if there were no other. Seeing

(as he elsewhere expresses it) a *Parcel of the Flock is allotted to the care of its particular Pastor, which every one is bound to guide and govern, and to account to God for the discharge of his Episcopal Office.* Neither was this his singular Notion, but the unanimous and settled Sense of the Ancients: Thus the Author of *Clement's* Institutions brings in the Apostles Writing after this manner to all Christian Bishops: We being all gathered together have written to you this form of Catholique Doctrine, For

the Confirmation of you to whom is entrusted the Catholique Episcopacy of the Church, This

Εἰς ἐπισκοπὴν ὑμῶν ἣν ἡμεῖς καὶ ὅλοι οἱ ἐπισκοποὶν πεπιστευμένων, lib. 6. cap. 14.

was the entire Sense of all *Ignatius* his Epistles, which suppose the full Jurisdiction of every particular Church to be placed in the Bishop and his own Clergy.

Necesse est itaque
tot ac tantas Eccle-
sias unam esse illam
ab Apostolis pri-
mam, ex qua om-
nes, sic omnes Pri-
ma & Apostolicæ.
De Præscrip.

So *Tertullian*, It
is necessary that so
many & great Chur-
ches should be that
one and first deri-
ved from the Apo-
stles, from whom all
are derived, and
therefore they are

v. can.
Apost. 35.

all but one, and yet several Apostolical
Churches. So all the Ancient Canons
inhibit every single Bishop, even the Me-
tropolitan to intermeddle in anothers
Diocess, upon pain of Deposition. Nei-
ther is this Supremacy of Power in eve-
ry Bishop any abatement of the just
Rights of Metropolitans; For in the Pri-
mitive Church (as I have shewn in a
former Treatise) Metropolitans had no
Power over inferiour Bishops, but in con-
junction of the Synod of the Province.
So that it was the Synod, not the Me-
tropolitan, that had the Superiour Power
over every single Bishop. And it is evi-
dent that he was as liable to the Sentence
of the Synod, as the meanest Bishop of the
Province, as appears from the case of
Paulus Samosatenus; and Metropolitans,
considering their number, were as often
censured and Deposed as other Bishops.
And this is the reason of *St. Cyprian's* to
earnestly

earnestly disclaiming the Title of *Episcopus
Episcoporum*, because though his own Me-
tropolitcal Jurisdiction were of great ex-
tent, yet as a single Bishop he had no
Superiority over any other Bishop; no
Authority to punish his Misdemeanors;
to receive Appeals from his Sentence;
or to order and rectifie any thing within
his Diocess. All such Power was to be
exerted only in Synodical Conventions,
in which he had the Honour and Autho-
rity of Presidency, but the Jurisdiction
was seated in the Body of the Council,
without whose concurrence had he pre-
sumed to do any thing more then any
other Bishop, his least punishment had
been certain Deposition. This was the
real State of things in the Ancient
Church, and Metropolitans never took
upon them any Power over their Col-
leagues or Brother-Bishops by their own
single Authority till after the Papal Usur-
pation, neither then did they challenge
it as Metropolitans, but as Legates to the
Pope, and that was one of the highest
branches of the Usurpation. But before
that time the Governours of the Church
were not more watchful against any one
thing then that one Bishop should not
claim any power over another.

Now

Now this Principle being first laid, That the whole Episcopal Authority is vested in every Bishop, the next that is consequent upon it, is, That whoever separates from the Communion of his Bishop, or sets up another against him is a Schismatick: and this was the Subject of almost all his Epistles concerning the Restitution of the *Lapsi*, or such as fell in time of Persecution. For they according to the Ancient Discipline of the Church, were not to be received into Communion but by these degrees. First they were to Petition to be admitted to Penance, and that upon confession of their fault was granted, and then having undergone the Penance imposed, they made a publick Confession of their Crime before the Congregation; and upon that they received Absolution by the Imposition of the hands of the Bishop and Clergy, and after that they were admitted to the Holy Eucharist or Full Communion. But instead of this solemn severity of Discipline, some of his own Presbyters had been so rash as without the consent of their Bishop to give them entire Absolution, and admit them to entire Communion. This was the opening of that unhappy Schism that afterward created

to

so much trouble both to himself and the Church of God. For when these Presbyters had so illegally restor'd those Enormous offenders they prevail'd by their Importunity upon the good Nature of the Martyrs and Confessors to intercede for their Restitution; it being an Honour and Prerogative allowed them in the ancient Church, to admit Sinners more easily to repentance upon their Request, because they had by the constancy of their sufferings compensated for the scandal that the others had given by their Fall. But instead of interceding for their admission to Penance these well meaning men move St. Cyprian for their complete Absolution without it, to which he replies, that *they who had with so much courage and devotion kept the Faith of our Lord, ought to be as careful of keeping his Law and Discipline* †.

Ante aetam Penitentiam, ante exomologesin gravissimam atque extremi delicti factam, ante manum ab Episcopo, & Clero in penitentiam impositam, offerre pro illis, & Eucharistiam dare.

Ep. 15. Edit. Oxon.

intercede for their Restitution; it being an Honour and Prerogative allowed them in the ancient Church, to admit Sinners more easily to repentance upon their Request, because they had by the constancy of their sufferings compensated for the scandal that the others had given by their Fall. But instead of interceding for their admission to Penance these well meaning men move St. Cyprian for their complete Absolution without it, to which he replies, that *they who had with so much courage and devotion kept the Faith of our Lord, ought to be as careful of keeping his Law and Discipline* †.

V. Baron. An. 253. S. 6.

Ut a quibus tam devotè & fortiter servatur fides domini, ab eisdem lex quoque & disciplina domini reservetur.

Epist. 15.

† Epist. 16. per totum.

But

But yet he is willing to excuse them not only because they did it out of ignorance of the Laws of the Church, and out of modesty, being meerly overcome by the importunity of others, but because they proceeded no farther than only to intercede with him, in whom they acknowledge the Power and Authority of granting Absolution, whereas the Presbyters had subverted all the Order of the Church, by presuming upon it without him. *These slighting*

Hi sublato honore, quem nobis beati Martyres cum confessoribus servant, contempta domini lege & observatione quam iidem Martyres & Confessores tenendam mandant, ante extinctum persecutionis metum, ante reditum nostrum, ante ipsum pene Martyrum excessum, communicent cum lapsis & offerant, & Eucharistiam tradant.

that dignity and respect which the Martyrs & Confessors carefully observed, & despising the Law of God, which those Good Men required to be kept, before the fear of Persecution is over, before our Return, before the very consummation of the Martyrs themselves, communicate with and give the Eucharist to the Apostates. And therefore at the beginning

ing of this Epistle in which he so candidly excuses the Martyrs, he reproves the rashness and disorder of the Presbyters with more then usual warmth and vehemence of Expression.

What Punishment ought we to expect from the divine displeasure, when some of the Presbyters forgetting both the Gospel and themselves, wither regarding the future Judgment of God, nor the Authority of their Bishop, Challenge what was never done under our Predecessors, the whole Power of the Church to themselves to the reproach and contempt of their Bishop: These are

very severe words, and the Crime it seems was look't upon as a thing so horrid at that time, that it was till then without Precedent. And therefore for the prevention of any further mischief and scandal, he writes at the same time

Quod enim periculum non metyere debemus de offensa domini; quando aliqui de Presbyteris nec Evangelii nec loci sui memores, sed neque futurum domini iudicium, neque nunc sibi præpositum Episcopum cogitantes, quod nunquam omnino sub antecessoribus factum est, cum contumeliâ & contemptu Præpositi totum sibi vendicent.

Epist. 17.

time an earnest Letter to the People themselves to warn them against the disorderly Actings of his Presbyters. But in his next Letter considering the sickly Season of the year, he gives power not only to the Presbyters but to the Deacons to grant Absolution in case of Sickneſs, by vertue of this his Commission; for the Deacons had no Authority of their own to do it, and therefore what they did, was valid purely by vertue of his Deputation, and the validity of Ecclesiastical ministrations depends not upon the outward Act, but the Authority by which they are warranted. But it happened that about this time *Celerinus* a Confessor at *Rome* writes to *Lucianus* a Confessor at *Carthage* to grant Absolution to some women that had fallen in the Persecution, but had made ample satisfaction for it by their eminent Hospitality to the Confessors. Upon this *Lucianus* with the rest of his Brethren with great heat and rashness grant their peremptory Absolution, and signify their resolution to *St. Cyprian* with a threatening, if he refused to joyn with them, that they would not communicate with him. To such a wild abuse was the customary priviledge of meer intercession grown, that they came at last to supersede and over-rule all the Episcopal

Autho-

Epist. 26.

Authority. Upon this *St. Cyprian* writes a peremptory Epistle to his Clergy, commanding Obedience to his former Orders, to restore no man to the Church till it first pleased God to restore peace to it. *Instatur interim Epistolis, &c.* And the mischiefs of this licentious Practice to the Subversion of the Peace and Discipline of the Christian Church he represents in an Epistle to the Clergy of *Rome*. *That this did but expose the*

Bishops to the hatred and envy of the People, that when they would make particular enquiry into every mans case they would seem to the People to defraud them of that favour that was bestowed on them by the Martyrs, which had been already the cause of some Seditions in his Province,

Quæ res majorem nobis constat invidiam, ut nos cum singulorum causas audire & excutere cæperimus, videamur multis negare, quod se nunc omnes jactant à Martyribus & Confessoribus accepisse. Denique hujus seditionis Origine jam cepit, &c.

&c. And they in an Eloquent Epistle written by *Novatian* himself, as *St. Cyprian* informs us in his Epistle to *Antoninus*, approve his Judgment, and declare themselves peremptory in his Opinion, and

and so do *Moses* and the Confessors then in Prison at *Rome*, to whom *St. Cyprian* at the same time writ about the same matter. Upon this he writes to the *Lapsi* themselves that had received Absolution without his Authority, to let them know that whatever was done without the Bishop was void and good for nothing. The

Per temporum & successionum vices, Episcoporum Ordination, & Ecclesiæ Ratio decurrit, ut Ecclesia super Episcopos constituatur, & omnis actus Ecclesiæ per eosdem Præpositos gubernetur. Cum hoc itaque divina lege fundatum sit, miror quosdam audaci temeritate sic mihi scribere voluisse, ut Ecclesiæ nomine literas facerent. Quando Ecclesia in Episcopo & Clero & in omnibus stantibus sit constituta.

Ordination of Bishops and the Succession of the Church run together hand in hand through all times and ages, so as that the Church is built upon the Bishop, and every act of the Church is authorised by the Bishops; seeing therefore this is established by the Will of God, I cannot but stand amazed at the bold rashness of some [i.e. Lucianus & the Confessors] that dare write to me that they may give Letters of pardon in the name of the Church, when the Church is made

up

up of the Bishop the Clergy and the faithful Layity.

Novatus the first contriver of the Schism seeing himself and his Party thus universally run down, sets *Fælicissimus* in the head of it, by his boldness and impudence to keep up the sinking cause, though *Baronius* is here so far mistaken as to make *Fælicissimus* the first Founder of the Schism, notwithstanding *St. Cyprian* has so expressly given that honour to *Donatus* together with the occasion of his Quarrel, which was nothing else then a design to escape the Discipline of the Church, to which he knew himself so obnoxious, that he could no other way avoid it but by raising Tumults. *St. Cyprian* after a very severe Character of his wicked temper of Mind, thus tells the Story plainly.

This is the Novatus that first sowed the Seeds of Schism and Discord among us, that separated the Brethren from their Bishops, that in the very time of Persecution became another Persecution himself to subvert the minds of our

Idem est Novatus Epist. 53. qui apud nos primum discordiæ & schismatis incendium seminavit, qui quosdam istic ex fratribus ab Episcopo segregavit, qui in ipsa persecutione ad evertendas fratrum mentes alia

P

quæ-

quædam persecutio nostris fuit. Ipse est qui *Fælicissimum* Satellitem suum Diaconum, nec permitte me nec sciente, suâ factione & ambitione constituit.

And after this account of the Author, he lets us know the occasion of the Schism: That beside many other scandalous Enormities committed by him,

Uterus uxoris calce percussus & Abortione properante in paricidium partus expressus.-----Hanc Confscientiam criminum jampridem timebat, propter hoc se non de Presbyterio excitari tantum, sed & communicatione prohiberi pro certo tenebat; & urgentibus fratribus imminabat cognitionis dies, quo apud nos causam

Brethren. It is he that made Fælicissimus the Hector his Deacon without my knowledge or permission, by Faction and Ambition.

Not long before the breaking out of this Persecution, he had so wounded his Wife by a kick upon the Belly, that it caused a miscarriage. For which brutish behaviour he was cited to appear before his Bishop St. Cyprian; but before they came to Judgment, the Persecution overtook them, by which means Donatus escaped his punishment at present,

sent, and to avoid it for the time to come, sets afoot this Schism, to overthrow all the Discipline of the Christian Church.

ejus ageretur, nisi persecutio ante venisset. Quam iste voto quodam evadendæ, & lucrandæ damnationis excipiens, hæc omnia commisit & mis-

cuit; ut qui ejici de Ecclesiâ, & excludi habebat, judicium Sacerdotum voluntariâ discessione præcederet, quasi evasisse sit penam, prævenisse sententiam.

Such was the Author and the Occasion of this pernicious Schism, and he now seeing the Persecution begin to cool, and St. Cyprian resolute to keep up the Efficacy of Discipline, cunningly sets up *Fælicissimus* to be head of the Party, who, he knew, would thrust himself forward enough into the quarrel, meerly out of his factious nature, and for the meer love of discord and contention, as St. Cyprian expresses it. *That*

out of a natural instinct to disturb the quiet of his Brethren, he conspired with many others, with the rage and rashness of a mad man to declare him-

Instinctu suo quietem fratrum turbans, proripuit se cum plurimis, ducem se Factionis & Seditionis Principem temerario furrore contestans.

self the head of the Faction, and Prince of the Seditious Association.

And according to this Temper of his, when St. Cyprian a while after sent his Commissioners to Carthage for the settlement of Ecclesiastical Discipline, this Boutefeu with his Rabble openly oppose and affront them, and threaten Excommunication to all that should obey either them or St. Cyprian. Of which St. Cyprian being inform'd, he immediately sends his peremptory Sentence of Excommunication against him and his accom-

ibid.

Quod cum Episcopo portionem plebis dividere, i. e. à Pastore oves, & filios à Parente separare, & Christi membra dissipare tentaverit.

Sed & Augendus, qui nec Episcopum nec Ecclesiam cogitans, pariter se cum illius conspiratione sociavit, si ultra cum eo persevera-

plices. Against him, *Because he attempted to share the flock with his Bishop, which is to divide the Sheep from the Shepherd, Children from their Father, and to disperse the Members of Christ.*

And against them that Not regarding the Bishop or the Church, they had associated themselves to his Conspiracy, and therefore had brought the same Sentence

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Sentence of Condemnation upon their own heads, that his Schismatical folly & rashness had drawn down upon him, and for that reason whoever joined with his faction, was denounced excommunicate from the Christian Church, as one who had made himself so by his own separation.

verit, sententiam ferat, quam ille in se factiosus & temerarius provocavit. Sed & quisquis se conspirationi & factioni ejus adjunxerit, sciat se in Ecclesia nobiscum non esse communicaturum, qui sponte maluit ab Ecclesia separari.

This being done, he signifies his Sentence to his People, requiring them, as they would not incur the same Sentence, not to Communicate with the Schismatics against their Bishop, and presses them to it with this Argument: *There is one God, one Christ, one Church, one Chair founded by our Lord's saying upon Peter; another Altar, beside that one Altar & Priesthood cannot be created.*

Deus unus est, & Christus unus, & una Ecclesia, & Cathedra una super Petrum Domini voce fundata. Aliud Altare constitui aut sacerdotium novum fieri præter unum Altare, & unum Sacerdotem non potest.

To divide from their Bishop, as *Feliciſſimus* had done, was a breach of the Unity of the Priesthood, and that was a breach of the Unity of the Church, which is here expreſſed by the word Altar, as it is frequently in the Ancient Writers of the Church, but eſpecially thoſe that writ againſt the *Novatians* and the *Donatiſts*. All the Chriſtians under one Biſhop were ſaid to appertain to the ſame Altar, becauſe they belong'd to the ſame Communion; and therefore when any ſeparated from him, they were ſaid to erect a new Altar, becauſe they ſet up a new Communion. And this Rebellion againſt the Biſhop he farther aggravates as an utter Subverſion of the Chriſtian

Ibid.

Adulterum eſt, impium eſt, ſacrilegium eſt, quòdque humano furore inſtituitur, ut diſpoſitio divina violetur.

Church; *It is adulterous, it is prophane, it is ſacrilegious, whatever is innovated by the paſſions of Men, to the injury of God's own Inſtitution.*

And then paſſionately exhorting the People to avoid them, he thus expreſſes himſelf: *Let no Nemo vos Chriſtianos ab Evangelio*

pel of Chriſt, let no Man take away the Sons of the Church from the Church, let them periſh alone, who have a mind to periſh, let them alone remain out of the Church, who have departed from the Church, let them alone not communicate with the Biſhops, who have rebell'd againſt the Biſhops.

Chriſti rapiat, Nemo filios Eccleſiæ de Eccleſiâ tollat. Pereant ſibi ſoli, qui perire voluerunt. Extra Eccleſiam ſoli remaneant, qui de Eccleſiâ receſſerunt, ſoli cum Episcopis non ſint, qui contra Episcopos rebellârunt.

Thus we ſee how it is all along with him, one and the ſame thing to be out of the Communion with the Biſhop and with the Chriſtian Church, whiſt the Biſhop was in Communion with that. But matters being thus prepared, and the ſtorm of Perſecution laid, St. *Cyprian* in a little time returns home, and Summons a Provincial Council, in which the Cauſe of *Feliciſſimus* (whoſe zeal had now made him proud of being head of the Party) and his Factious Associates, was Examined, and after a full and fair hearing, the former Sentence of Excommunication by their own Biſhop was Synodically ratified. But Schiſm never ends

where it begins; for the Incendiaries finding themselves thus defeated in *Africa*, they fly to *Rome*, and carry the flame with them from *Carthage* thither, where they found combustible matter enough at that time to set the whole Christian World on fire, from the contest between *Cornelius* and *Novatian* for the Bishoprick; for as the Council of *Carthage* was held in the Month of *May*, so this Contest happened the *June* following, as the learned Annalist has made it evidently appear. *Cornelius* being chosen Bishop by the much greater Majority of Votes, *Novatian* Remonstrates to his Election, loads him with a great heap of Crimes that would render him incapable of the Episcopal Office, but chiefly refuses Communion with him, because he had Communicated with the *Lapsi*; and upon this severe Principle, that they were never to be admitted to Absolution he builds his Schism, at which lucky juncture of time the *African* Schismatics coming to *Rome*, they join interest with him, and set him up Anti-Bishop against *Cornelius*, and by the severity of their pretence drew into the Party many well-meaning Men, that had been eminent Confessors in the late *Decian* Persecution, and by their Reputation for some time kept

kept up the Schism with some credit and confidence. But here the honesty of Schismatics is not a little observable, in that though their Opinions were extreme, yet they join in the same Schism against the Catholique Church. For *Novatus* and his Party were so loose as to be for Absolution without any due course of Penance and Satisfaction: But *Novatian* was so severe as to be against allowing any Absolution at all; and yet in this distance from one another they both piec't together against the Catholique Church, that taught and practised the middle way of Absolution upon Penance and Satisfaction. But the Opinion of *Novatian* being the most plausible (for that of *Novatus* was a meer inlet to all Debauchery) it soon swallowed up the *African* Schismatiques into it; for *Novatus* having by his Schism escaped with all his Crimes the Discipline of the Church, he cared not what became of his Opinion, Schism was his only business, and therefore he would quit his Opinion or any thing else, to strengthen himself by a stronger Faction. And the Faction being now emboldened by their strength and number, they signify the Election of *Novatian* to the several Provincial Churches, and among others to *St. Cyprian*.

Cyprian. But he and his Collegues then assembled in Synod, having been beforehand certified of the Canonical Election of *Cornelius* by Synodical Letters, like Men wise and stout, are so moved with the irregularity of the action, that they would not so much as give them Audience, but immediately throw them out of all Communion.

Epist. 44. Sed enim cum ex literis quas secum ferebant, & ex eorum Sermone atque asseveratione, *Novatianum* Episcopum factum comperissemus, illicitæ & contra Ecclesiam Catholicam factæ Ordinationis pravitatem commoti, à Communi- catione eos nostrâ statim cohibendos esse censuimus.

And when they presât that the Cause of *Novatian* and accusations against *Cornelius* might be publicly heard, the Council

ibid. Gravitati nostræ negavimus convenire, ut Collegæ nostri jam delecti & ordinati peremptorily rejected the motion. *We judg'd it unbecoming our Gravity that we should suffer the*

the honour of our nati, & laudabili Collegue already chosen, and ordain'd, and approved by common suffrage to be farther prosecuted by envious and spiteful men. multorum sententiâ comprobati ventilandum ultra honorem maledicâ æmulantium voce patere-
mur.

And this he discourses with great wisdom in his next Epistle, *Honoris enim communis memores, &c.* For being mindful of our common reputation, and bearing special regard to the honour and dignity of the Priesthood, we refused to hear their Accusations sharpened with bitter Reproaches, considering and weighing with our selves, that in so great an Assembly of the Brethren, in the presence of the Priests of God, and before the very Altar, they were neither fit to be read nor to be heard. Neither are things to be rashly and easily made publick, that may cause scandal int he Hearers, and raise an ill Opinion of their Brethren, who live at a great distance off, too great to clear their own innocence. And now having rejected the Schismatics with so much contempt and dishonour, *St. Cyprian* writes to the Confessors, who had given reputation to the Schism and Scandal to the Church, and very severely

Epist. 56. verely schools them for their disorderly & Seditious behaviour. Gravatus enim me atque contristat, &c. *It grieves and troubles me, it pierces my very heart with unspeakable sorrow, when I found that you, even you against all Ecclesiastical Constitution, against the Law of the Gospel, against the Unity of the Catholick Church had consented to the Creation of another Bishop, i.e. to erect another Church, to tear asunder the Members of Christ, to divide the very Soul and Body of the Lords Flock. And so goes on pathetically to exhort them, that as they would not lose the honour and reward of their past sufferings, that they would speedily return into the Unity of the Church, and out of that it was in vain for them so much as to pretend to the Confession of Christianity. And for their more ample satisfaction sends them his Book, de unitate Ecclesie. Where among many other effectual Arguments, he represents to them that their Schism is a much more heinous Crime then that committed by the Lapse, and that they had offended God less if they had fallen in Persecution, then standing in it to fall into Schism, which he tells them is a Crime not to be expiated by Martyrdom it self. Though they were slain*

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slain for the Confession of his Name, yet their Sin is a blemish not to be washed off by their own blood. The sin of Discord is heavy and expiable, not to be purged away by Martyrdom it self. Neither can he be a Martyr that is out of the Church.

Tales etiam si occisi in confessione nominis fuerint, macula ista nec sanguine abluitur. Inexpiables & gravis culpa discordiae, nec passione purgatur. Esse Martyr non potest, qui in Ecclesia non est.

The Martyrs being alarm'd with these and the like discourses, (for they received another Letter about the same business, and much about the same time from that Wise and Great Man *Dionysius* Bishop of *Alexandria*) are awakened to enquire more narrowly into the matter, upon which they find that Letters full of Calumnies and Reproaches, of which they were utterly ignorant, had been scatter'd and dispersed in all Churches in their name, and confess that they had been circumvented by ill men, beg forgiveness, and acknowledge their great miscarriage in the publique Congregation, and submit to *Cornelius* as their true and only Bishop. And that immediately broke the Schism and scatter'd the Schismatics.

Epist. 49.

Hic

Ep. 51. Hic enim quosdam fratres nostros, &c. For this was the thing (says St. Cyprian) that seduced some with us, that they followed the Communion of Confessors, which strong prejudice being removed they are able to see the Light, and understand that the Peace and Unity of the Church ought not to be broke and divided, neither will they be so easily perverted by every furious Schismatick for the time to come, when they are now convinced by experience that these brave Soldiers of Christ, could not long by all the Arts of Craft and Subtilty be kept out of the Church. But if the Reader desire a more compendious Account of all the Scenes and Motions of this Controversy, he may meet with it in St. Cyprian's admirable Epistle to Antonianus a Numidian Bishop, who not thoroughly understanding the state of the Resolutions concerning the Lapsi, nor the contest between Cornelius and Novatian, writes to St. Cyprian for better information about them both. Who returns him a full Answer to both, but more especially to the whole Tragedy of the Contest between Cornelius and Novatian, wherein he proves that Cornelius was lawfully Elected and Consecrated before Novatian, and therefore that that alone was enough to null the Title of Novatian. Et cum

cum post primum, &c. And seeing when there is one Bishop there cannot be another, whoever pretends to be second after a first, who ought to be alone, is not the second but none at all. And though he gives a large Account of Cornelius his Vertues, and the Vices of Novatian, yet the Principle that he relies upon is the Priority of Cornelius his legal Ordination, after which for any other man to thrust himself upon what pretence soever into the same Bishoprick, is really to thrust himself both out of the particular Church that he invades, and out of the Catholick Church against which he Rebels, because by the Rules of both, one Church is not capable of receiving two Bishops. But the Martyrs being reduced, and the Schismatics scatter'd and every where rejected, St. Cyprian sets himself to bring the War to a Final Issue, and for that end summons a Council at Carthage to settle the Case of the Lapsi forever, where as he informs Antonianus it was after mature debate determin'd with true Ecclesiastical Moderation. Scripturis diu ex utraque parte prolatis, &c. The Scriptures being alledged and urged on either side, we temper'd and pois'd the matter with an healing moderation, that neither the hope of Restitution should be wholly deny'd

nyed the Lapsi, lest despair should drive them into utter Apostacy; nor that the censure of the Church should be so loosned, that the Offenders should be lightly admitted to Communion, but that upon due Penance and Humiliation, every mans particular cause and circumstances being examin'd, he should be accordingly treated. Which Decree being certified by a Synodical Epistle to Rome, Cornelius at the Petition of St. Cyprian, as Labbe according to the manner of the Romanists expresses it, allows his Confirmation. And for the proof of it alledges St. Cyprian's words to Antonianus, in which he declares Cornelius his Compliance with the Authority of his determination, so that instead of giving force to his Authority he only followed it, And

Ac si minus sufficiens Episcoporum Numerus in Africa videbatur, etiam Romanam super hac rescripsimus ad Cornelium Collegam nostrum, qui et ipse cum plurimis Coepiscopis habito Concilio, in eandem nobiscum sententiam, pari gravitate et salubri moderatione consentit.

as if the number of Bishops in Africa were not sufficient, we writ to Cornelius our Colleague at Rome, who calling a Council of a great many Bishops approved our Judgment with equal Wisdom and wholesome moderation.

The

The Schismatiques being thus utterly routed at Rome, they fly back into Africa, and there associate to set up another Bishop against St. Cyprian, and agree upon Fortunatus, which being done, Felicissimus with a Guard of rude and desperate Fellows posts to Rome, signifies the Election of their new Bishop to Cornelius, and demands Communion with him, but is rejected with all manner of scorn and disgrace: Upon this they huff and domineer, and scare the old Bishop with their lowd threatnings and lowder Lyes, particularly that this business was transacted by the concurrent Vote of five and twenty Bishops; this puts Cornelius to a stand, and hearing nothing all this while of it from St. Cyprian, writes to him to know the whole state of the matter, who returns him a large and patheticall Narrative of it, where he states the whole matter with that

Epist. 59.

clearness and strength of reason, with that evidence of proof, with that fulness of Testimony, that vanquish't the Faction forever, for after that time we hear very little of this fullen Schism. And the Fundamental Principle upon which he insists is the Divine Institution of his own Episcopal Superiority. Herefeses and Schisms arise

Q

Neque enim aliunde Hareses

Hæreses obortæ sunt , aut nata sunt Schismata quàm inde quòd Sacerdoti dei non obtemperatur , nec unus in Ecclesiâ ad tempus sacerdos, et ad tempus Judex vice Christi cogitatur, cui si secundum magisteria divina obtemperaret fraternitas Univerſa, nemo ad verſum ſacerdotũ collegium quidquã moveret, nemo poſt divinum judicium, poſt populi ſuffragium, poſt coepiſcoporum conſenſum, Judicem ſe jam non Episcopopi ſed dei faceret.

That was his caſe that when he had been Canonically Eleſted and Conſtituted in the See of Carthage, his own Prefbyters ſhould preſume to out him of his Biſhoprick that he held for his life by Divine Authority,

And

And therefore to Travel no farther into this Controverſie, though the Schiſmaticques, according to the reſtleſs Genius of ſuch Men, made ſome faint ſallys to ſave and redeem themſelves, we plainly ſee that this was the firſt Article of St. Cyprian's Unity of the Chriſtian Church, the Unity of a Biſhop in every Dioceſan Church, and the dutiful and regular Communion of all its Members with him.

§ 13. The ſecond grand Article, and that which has a more diffuſive influence upon the Peace and Unity of the Church, is the obligation upon all Chriſtian Biſhops, to preſerve Concord and Communion among themſelves. And as the former unites every Chriſtian to ſome particular Church ; ſo this unites every particular Church to the Body of the Church Catholique. And this is that which St. Cyprian and the Ancients intend by the Catholick Church, viz. All Churches in the World united into one Body by the Concord of Biſhops in the ſame Rules of Diſcipline and Government. And this is his meaning in thoſe ſeveral Paſſages, in which he makes every Church both a perfect Church within it ſelf, and yet only

only a Member of the Church Catholique, as in the formention'd Passage in his Book *De Unitate: Episcopatus unus est, cujus a singulis in solidum pars renetur*: There is but one Episcopacy, of which every Bishop possesses his own share with plenitude of Power. And in his 36 Epistle, *A Christo una Ecclesia per totum orbem in multa membra divisa, Christus habet founded one Church, dispers'd through the whole World in many Districts and Divisions*. And in the same Epistle, *Episcopatus unus, Episcoporum multorum concordie numerisitate diffusus, There is but one Episcopacy spread every where by the Concord of all Bishops*. And in the 68th Epistle, *Etsi Pastores multi sumus, unum tamen gregem pascimus, & oves uniuersas, quas Christus sanguine suo & passione quaesivit, colligere & forevere debemus*: Though we are many Pastors, yet we feed but one Flock, and we are all bound to feed and cherish all the Sheep that Christ has purchased with his Blood and Passion. By which, and the like passages, which are very frequent in his Writings, nothing less can be understood than the Obligation of all particular Churches to mutual Concord, for the preservation of Peace and Unity in the Church Catholique. And agreeable to this Doctrine was his

pra-

practice through the whole course of his Government, to give an account of his proceedings to Foreign Churches for their Judgment and Approbation; and by that means a stricter Unity of Discipline was at that time kept up in all Christian Churches then in any other Age. Thus when he had cast *Felicitissimus* and his Associates out of the Church of Carthage, they could never after it get footing in any other Church: And when *Cornelius* had cast *Novatian* out of the Church of Rome, though he made many bold and plausible Attempts to insinuate himself into divers other Churches, yet he could never meet with entertainment in any, but found himself doom'd to the Fate of *Cain*, to be a Vagabond all the days of his Life. This Correspondence of Discipline is the subject of the greatest part of *St. Cyprian's* Epistles. Thus he wrote to the Church of Rome, to give an account of his Discipline and Diligence, *Necessarium duxi has ad vos literas facere, quibus vobis, attis nostri, & Discipline & Diligentiae ratio redderetur*. And then gives a particular Account of all his Proceedings in the Case of the *Lapsi*, and the illegal Pardons of the Martyrs and Confessours; *Left* (says he)

Epist. 23;

Ne actus noster, qui adunatus esse & consentire circa omnia debet, in aliquo discreparet.

our Resolutions that ought to be uniform and agreeable in all things should be dissonant in any.

Epist. 25.] The very same that is done in his Epistle to *Caldonius*, in which he tells him, That he had sent the same Account to divers other Churches, and desires him to convey it to as many Bishops or Collegues as he could, *That the same Resolution and Agreement in all things might according to our Lords Command be preserved in all Churches: Ut apud omnes unus Actus, & una consensus secundum Domini præcepta teneatur.* And again in his Epistle to the Clergy of *Rome*, he informs them of the disorderly Proceedings of *Lucianus*, and other Confessors, in giving Absolution without his consent, and desires their farther assistance, assuring them, That their former concurrence with him, had supported him against that old dead weight of Envy, and saved him a World of Trouble: *Laborantes hic nos, & contra invidiæ impetum, totis fidei viribus resistentes multum sermo vester adjuvit, ut divinitus compendium fieret.* And when in another Epistle to them he had cautioned

tion'd them against *Privatus* an Heretical Bishop, they return him thanks for his great care of the Unity of the Christian Church, a duty (say they) equally incumbent upon us all, *Omnes enim nos decet pro corpore totius Ecclesiæ, cujus per varias quasque Provincias membra digesta sunt, excubare.* And so when the African Bishops had agreed to make an abatement of the rigour of Discipline toward the Lapsi upon the foresight of a new approaching Persecution, they acquaint the Church of *Rome* with their Resolution by a Synodical Epistle. But the most eminent correspondence at this time, and about this business, was that between *Cornelius* Bishop of *Rome*, *Dionysius* of *Alexandria*, *Fabian* of *Antioch*, and *Cyprian* of *Carthage*, by whose Concord and Conduct the fury both of the Schism and Schismatiques was at last utterly vanquish'd. And it was this breach of the Unity among Christian Bishops, that was the great Aggravation and Enormity of the Sin of *Novatian*, as it is represented by *St. Cyprian* in his excellent Epistle to *Antonianus*; *Cum sit à Christo una Ecclesia per totum mundum, &c.* When there is but one Church in the whole World divided into many Parts, and one Episcopacy diffused all over by

Epist. 36.

Epist. 17.

Epist. 52.

Epist. 27.

the numerous Concord of many Bishops, this Man slighting the Command of God, and the sealed Unity of the Catholique Church, endeavours to erect an humane Church, sends his new Apostles through divers Cities, to lay the Foundations of a new Institution. And whereas there had been of a long time Bishops venerable for Age, Orthodox in Faith, proved in Tryals, proscribed in Persecutions, Ordain'd in all Provinces and every City, yet he dares presume to set up over them his own False-Bishops, as if he resolv'd to vanquish the whole World meely by his stubbornness, and by the propagation of Discord to tear in pieces the whole Union of the Ecclesiastical Body. That was a plain dissolution of the Unity of the Catholique Church, the dividing the Body of Christian Bishops, in whole Concord and Agreement the true Catholique Unity consisted. But the most remarkable Discourse in all St. Cyprian's Writings upon this Argument is his severe Epistle to Florentius or Pupianus an African Bishop, who took upon himself to disclaim Communion with St. Cyprian by his own single Authority, notwithstanding that St. Cyprian was in the Communion of the Catholique Church, [*Ecclesie universæ per totum mundum nobiscum Unitatis vinculo*

Epist. 66.

vinculo copulata. Quando Ecclesia, And therefore when the one Catholique Church cannot be rent nor divided, but is united and combin'd together by the Cement of the Episcopal Concord. *Quæ Catholica, una est, scissa non sit neque divisa, sed sit utique connexa, & cohesa, rentium sibi invicem sacerdotum glutino copulata.* He charges Pupianus with casting himself out of the Communion of the Catholique Church, by denying to Communicate with St. Cyprian, with whom all other Bishops communicated. And withal tells him, That his Crime is so great, that he can scarce be restored upon Repentance, and Satisfaction, and that for his own part he dates not do it without some express Commission from God himself. *I shall beg Advice from God whether you shall be restored.* Ut prius Dominum meum consulam an [after having made] tibi pacem dari, & satisfactionem, et te ad Communionem Ecclesie sue sedeo. let me know admitti sua Ostiminatione & Admonitione, & Admonitione of his Will, none permittat. whether he will ever permit such an one as you to be received

ceived into the Communion of his Church.

And this is the thing that St. Cyprian means by a Bishops making himself *Episcopus Episcopi*, with which he here particularly charges *Pupianus*, when one Bishop presumes by his single Authority to judge another. Which was in those days justly esteem'd the most unpardonable breach of Catholique Communion. For upon that pretence, he might if he pleased, disclaim and condemn every Bishop of the Christian World. And therefore though any other Offender that stood Excommunicate even by a Council of Bishops might be admitted to the peace of the Church upon satisfaction; yet in this case St. Cyprian doubts whether *Pupianus* his Repentance will be ever accepted. Inasmuch that if upon it he should be received into the Communion of the Church, his Absolution must not be peremptory as in other cases, but so as still to refer him to the fear and danger of the Judgment of God. *Si temeritatis & superbiae & insolentiae tuae agere vel sero penitentiam ceperis, si Deo & Christo ejus plenissime satisfeceris, communicationis tuae poterimus habere rationem, manente tamen apud nos divinae censurae respectu & metu.* This was a singular Severity in so gentle a Person as St. Cyprian,

priant who allowed full Restitution to all other Offenders, but in this case he does it with an *If*. And in plain truth the Nature of the Crime deserved it, for it is an Eternal Subversion of the Peace of the whole Church; if the Pride or the Peevishness of one single Man may be suffer'd to censure and condemn the practice of the whole Catholique Church. For though this pique of *Pupianus* lay only against St. Cyprian, yet he being (as he tells him) in Communion with all the Bishops and Churches through the whole World, though the blow were aim'd at him singly, it lighted upon all, and the whole Church was equally involved in the Censure. Which was then thought such a piece of *Luciferian* pride, that it was by him placed next to the unpardonable Sin. The passages in St. Cyprian to this purpose are innumerable, and there is scarce an Epistle, in which he does not expressly declare the Unity of the Catholique Church to lye in the Concord and Agreement of the Episcopal Colledge; that was a Succession to the Apostolical, between whom the Government of the Church was equally divided, yet so as to agree all together in one Catholique Communion. This is a thing so easily to be understood that I cannot

cannot but stand amazed to find Men of Sense, Learning, and Ingenuity pretend to be so dull as not to be able to comprehend, how the Unity of the Church should be reduced to practice by way of external Policy, when all the Lines of it are so plainly traced out in the Universal practice of the Primitive Church; and particularly in the Writings of St. Cyprian. It were easie to give a much larger account of it by transcribing almost all the Records of the Christian Church; the chief Affairs whereof were all along transacted by this way of Epistolary Correspondence. And therefore the best way of attaining knowledge in Ecclesiastical matters is not by following set and form'd Histories, so much as by consulting particular Epistles, in which we have a distinct account from time to time, of the true Springs and Motions of all the publique Transactions of the Christian Church.

But because this Argument of Unity and Communion, by way of external Policy in the Church is become a Controversie among some learned Men of our own Church, though what I have already discoursed in general be more than enough, or at least as much as is in

it self needful to state the Case, yet unless I assail some particular Arguments that are at this time on foot, notwithstanding all that I have said, I shall leave some Readers under the power of great prejudices, and those prejudices being maintain'd by the deserved Reputation of some good and learned Men, they are not to be easily removed, nor otherwise then by particular Confutations. The two great Men at first engaged in this Controversie are Mr. Thorndike, and Dr. Barrow, Men of equal value both for Modesty, Learning, and Piety. Mr. Thorndike is peremptory for the necessity of one United Government in the Catholique Church. The Dr. granting it to be a thing very desirable, and in some rare cases practicable, as when all Christendom was almost confin'd within the Roman Empire, cannot conceive any Necessity of it, or Obligation to it. But with all due Reverence to the memory of so great, and so good a Man, I must make bold to say, That, however it comes to pass, he answers neither his usual Acuteness or Ingenuity in this performance. Probably it might have been an imperfect work, and an Essay upon the Argument by way of exercise to himself; or if he were serious, and the discourse

discourse were the result of his own Judgment, it will appear when I come to consider his way of discoursing it, that he had by no means weighed the matter as he ought, that he did not comprehend the Arguments that he undertook to answer, that he was not consistent with himself, but expressly asserts the Opinion that he endeavours to oppose. Of all which unusual inconsistency in so Acute a Man I can give no other Reason, then that his great Zeal against the Unity of the Catholique Church by way of Papal Monarchy Transported him so far as to make him forget that obligation to Unity and Communion that lyes upon all Churches under their several distinct Governments. But whatever was the ground of his mistake, his reasons only concern us, and here to proceed Methodically, I shall in the first place set down his Adversaries Arguments, and his Replies upon them; and then his own Arguments, with my Answers to them. And first he begins the dispute with an intimation of the want of perspicuity in his Adversaries Writings, and this I know is a popular Objection, and very much in the mouths of some Men, who will by no means allow him to be an intelligible Writer, though for what reason

son I cannot imagine, unless that it is convenient for themselves that he should not be understood; for if once Men were convinced of the true Constitution of any one Church by Divine Authority, that would forever destroy all indifferency, or pretended moderation, between the several different Parties among us. And if the Church of *England* be constituted by Divine Right, then all that separate from it are both Heretiques and Schismatiques; and all that join with it as the right Church, and not meerly as the Church in possession, are obliged to declare them so, and endeavour to have them cast out of all Ecclesiastical Communion. If indeed the difference were only about Rites and Ceremonies, there might be some room for good nature; but when the contest is about the Essential Constitution of a Christian Church, as it was Established by our Saviour and his Apostles, those that separate from it, nay that endeavour with all their might to destroy it, (as our present Schismatiques do) cannot but incur the utmost displeasure and severity of all honest Men that sincerely love it: In such cases as these, it is a contradiction to talk of terms of Accommodation: And that is the reason why some Men that would

would keep fair with all Parties, are so afraid of the Plea of Divine Right for the Church of *England*; for if that be settled, they are thereby obliged and determin'd positively to declare against the Schism of all other different Parties. And not to do it is to partake of their Sin, and in effect to join with them in it; for not to be for the true Church is to be against it, our Saviour will accept of no such lukewarm and perfidious moderation. In short, Men that Communicate with the Church of *England* not as founded upon Divine Right, proceed upon no other ground then that it is the Church at present in Possession, so that whatever Party has the luck to get uppermost, that is the Church of *England*; and then be it Popery, Presbytery, or Independency we are Schismatiques if we separate from it: For if there be no Ecclesiastical form of Government settled by Divine Law, then none of these can be in themselves unlawful, because nothing can be so; but as it is against the Law of God; for where there is no Law there is no Sin, and therefore it is but a very mean piece of Service to the Church of *England*, to assert the Lawfulness of her Constitution; for if that be all, and if it be not necessary too as establish'd by

Divine

Divine Right, so are all other forms, then all the difference is, that the State has thought good to annex the Ecclesiastical preferments to this way; but setting them aside, the Separatists are as much the Church of *England* as our selves, and if the State should be pleas'd to settle all the Emoluments of the Church upon Presbytery or Independency, yes or Popery it self, then all that is pleaded for the Lawfulness of the present Church of *England*, will be as pleadable against it for the Church Triumphant. So fatal and pernicious to the Being of a Christian Church is this Principle that takes away all Divine Right, it blows up the very Foundations of the Church, that can stand upon no other bottom then the Authority of God, and lets Men loose from all other Obligations to Communicate with any Church, then merely those of courtesie and civility; for the only reason it can lay upon them, is to Communicate with the Church they live in, is to do it for convenience and peace sake, rather then to be troublesome, otherwise they are left by the Law of God to be of what Church they please, or if they please of none at all; for if there be none by Divine Law, they cannot be obliged to Communicate with any. But of the ill Consequences of

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this fatal Principle, I shall give a particular account in the Conclusion of this Design ; when after I have made good the true State of the Church, I shall be able to convince all the different Parties of their Deviations from it, and amongst the rest I doubt this Sect of Men will be found the most guilty of any, of perfidiousness against the Catholique Church, for they disown any such thing in all times and places ; and that is an offence of a more heinous Nature, as well as larger Extent, then when committed only against the particular Church of *England*. Though the greatest aggravation of it is, That it is taken up precariously without ground or shadow of Reason, in defiance to all the Records of the Christian Church, and that all its Pleas pervert them with more folly and grossness, then the *Romanists* pretences for Papal Supremacy, as will be shewn in due place. In the mean time to return to our Learned Author, and his complaint of Mr. *Thorn-dike's* obscurity, that was taken up by him from a vulgar Opinion, and that was first started by others, chiefly to prevent the force of his Arguments for the Divine Right of Ecclesiastical Power. It must be granted, that there are some things in his Epilogue to the Church of *England*

England, that cannot but create some difficulty to the less skilful Reader : As first, the very careless and uncorrected Impression of it, whereby such a multitude of faults have escaped, or rather passed through the Press, as cannot but very much disturb and perplex the Sense, especially when the mistake is committed (as it very frequently is) in the Particles of Argumentation, whereby the plain coherence of the discourse is often lost and inverted ; both which being added to the obscurity of the stile it self, which though it is intelligible enough to an attending Reader, yet must be acknowledged somewhat dark and involved, as usually happens to overthoughtful Men, and that seems to have been the case of this Learned Man, his former Writings upon the very same Subject being much more plain and perspicuous. But the thing that most of all puts the ordinary Reader to a loss, is his frequent and large digressions, for being a compleat Master of Ecclesiastical Learning, he could not confine himself to his proper Argument, but upon every turn runs out into other Subjects. And the method of the connexion not appearing, the common Reader loses the design of the whole. To give an instance or two, his chief Arguments for the Unity

ty of the Catholick Church being taken from the Unity of Baptism, and the Lord's Supper ; beside making out his Conclusion, he enters into large Discourses concerning the Use and Necessity of Baptism against the *Socinians*, and the presence of Christ's Body in the *Eucharist*, and the Sence of the Church about it in all Ages against the Church of *Rome*, and by that time the less diligent Reader has travell'd through these long Digressive Controversies, he forgets the first Conclusion, of the Unity of the Church from the Unity of right to these two Sacraments in it.

But if the Reader would distinguish between the direct Course and Tenor of the Discourse it self, and these occasional Salleys, the whole Method of proceeding would appear plain and perspicuous enough to an ordinary understanding. And for the proof of this I shall only refer him to his first Book upon this Argument, which was the substance and groundwork of his other larger Treatises. And that is his discourse of the Right of the Churches in a Christian state. In which keeping close to his Argument, he has stated this and all other matters that he treats of with that clearness and coherence or Reason, that whoever will be at the pains to run through that little Book

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can never complain of any Obscurity in his following Writings. Thus in his first Chapter, he lays the Foundations of the one Catholick Church upon the right of holding publick Assemblies for the Worship of God by Divine Authority, upon which he infers the power of the Keys, and from thence the power of granting Baptism, which suppose a settled Authority of taking into or casting out of the Society of the Church, and unless those that are taken in are taken into the whole Society, and those that are cast out are cast out of the same, they are of no effect to the purpose to which they are design'd. For unless a Man that is baptised in a particular Church have a right of Communicating with the whole Christian Church, if he change his Habitation, he must leave his Christianity behind him, or his right of holding publick Assemblies in the Church. And unless a man that is Excommunicate in a particular Church, be thereby cast out of Communion with all other Churches, it is but changing his Habitation, and he that was cut off as a corrupt Member from the Body of Christ, shall elude the just Sentence of the Church, and notwithstanding his Excommunication have as full a right to all Christian Priviledges as if he had never been proceeded against.

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This is the main stress of his Argument upon this Subject, which he farther shews by the power of inflicting and abating Pennance, that is connected with the Authority of Excommunication or inflicting Censures. And the force of this Argumentation is so evident and unavoidable, that I must confess my self not a little surpris'd how it was possible that our Learned Adversary could any way baulk or shift the Evidence of its Conviction. Especially when himself saw so clearly that an Ecclesiastical Unity of Government in the Church is absolutely necessary to its preservation; for though he founds it only upon the Confederation and consent of Churches and not any divine Command, yet he founds that Consent upon its necessity to the Peace of the Church. 'This course (says he) was very prudential and useful for preserving the truth of Religion and Unity of Faith, against Heretical Devices springing up in that free age, for maintaining Concord and good Correspondence among Christians, together with an Harmony in Manners and Discipline, for that otherwise Christendom would have been shatter'd and crumbled into numberless Parties, discordant in Opinion and Practice, and consequently alienated in affection, which

P. 28.

'which inevitably among most men doth follow difference of Opinion and Manners, so that in short time it would not have appeared what Christianity was, and consequently the Religion, being overgrown with differences and discords, must have perished. Now is not this a very fair concession for one who is labouring only to prove that this Unity of Government among several Churches is not necessary to the Church, when without it Christianity must have certainly perish'd. But this dropt from his own natural sense and ingenuity, that could not but acknowledge the Evidence of so clear a truth. But though it was an utter subversion of his whole design, yet it seems he was so intent in the pursuit of the Argument, that he had undertaken, that he overlook't even his own thoughts when they stood in his way. And now after this it is so easie to overthrow every particular part of his discourse, that were it not for his Authority, it would be needless. But because by reason of that it must be done, I shall do it with all possible brevity. First then, *the name of Church is attributed to the whole body of Christians, which implyeth Unity.* And this he confesses it does, but determines not the kind or ground thereof, there being several kinds, any whereof may suffice to

Arg. 1.
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ground that comprehensive Appellation. But this by his own Confession is most apparently false, for it determines it self to that kind that consists in an Unity of Government, and the ground of that determination of it is its necessity to the Peace and Welfare of the Church, and therefore without this kind of Unity, no other sort will suffice to ground the Appellation, because without it there can be no other Unity, this is necessary to all other sorts, and therefore without it they are not capable of that name. But to deal plainly, the Argument is not here fairly represented, for Mr. *Thorndike* does not argue merely from the name of the Church, but from the nature of the thing to which the name is applied, the Church being a Society or Body Politick, which is the first thing to be either proved or supposed in this dispute, and that being made out, then upon that supposition the Argument is very clear, that one Church is one Society. And therefore when the name Church is frequently given in Scripture, not only to particular Churches, but to the whole Catholique Church, that must be one Society united under one Government, for without Government there is no Society, and therefore one Society founds one Government. Now the Argument being thus laid,

laid, its force lyes in the nature of things, not an empty name, and it makes its own way by its own reasonableness. Especially when we consider the Bond of this Society, *viz.* The Communion in Divine Offices, to which every Member of the Catholick Church having a right, the right of all must consist in that one Communion, and that one Communion cannot subsist without one Government, so perspicuously does the Unity of the Catholick Church infer and enforce an Unity of Government in it.

The next Argument and Answer are to the same purpose, *viz.* from our Belief of the Holy Catholique Church, from whence Mr. *Thorndike* infers its Political Unity but our Author: says, it may as well be understood of any other kind of Unity. But to that it is easily answered, that as long as it is a Society (and so must all multitudes of men, if they are not riots) it cannot be understood without this Unity. And therefore it is not precariously assumed and obtruded as is pretended, but warrants it self by the reason it brings along with it, that determines it to this special kind of Unity. But he adds, the genuine sense of the meaning of this Article may be, *our profession to adhere to the Body of Christians, and to maintain Charity*

rity and communicate in holy Offices with them, and to be willing to observe the Laws and Orders Establish'd by the Authority or consent of Churches. This is very true, and very false, for if we are under no Obligation to all this, then all this meaning is Non-sence, and all these kinds of Unity are nothing ; for if we make this profession of our own free choice and accord, then we may choose whether we will do all this or no, and it is all one whether we adhere to the body of Christians, in Charity, Communion, and Obedience to the Laws of the Church, or whether we refuse it ; for if it be no duty by vertue of Obligation, then it may be left undone as well as done. But if all Christians and all Churches are obliged to it, then indeed, 'tis true but then are they United under one Common Government, and the making and keeping of this Profession is not voluntary, but it is bound upon them by the indispensable Laws of Christianity.

3. The Apostles delivered one Rule of faith to all Churches, the embracing of which, was a necessary condition to admission into the Church, therefore Christians are combin'd together in one political Body. But it is answered ;

First, That from hence can only be infer'd, That Christians should consent in one Faith.

Yes,

Yes, but an obligation to consent in one Faith makes them one Political Body, for what if any Church forsake this Rule, are they not punishable for it by other Churches ? If they are, they are then combined together in one Political Body : If they are not, then there is no remedy against Schisms and Heresies ; and beside that, there may be as many different Faiths as Churches, and therefore if all Christians are obliged to an Unity of Faith, and if they cannot be so without an Unity of Government, then the consequence is very strong from the Unity of one to infer the Unity of the other.

But Secondly, *By this reason all mankind must be United in one Political Body, because they are all bound to observe the same Lawes of Justice and Humanity.*

To make short of it, so they are ; all Kingdoms and Common-wealths are as much bound to mutual Justice, as private Persons under one and the same Government. And if any Prince violate this Law by Invading his Neighbours Rights, he is or ought to be looked upon, by Gods natural Law, that equally provides for the good of all, as an Enemy and Traytor to the Society of Mankind, and it is the duty as well as interest of all other Princes not only to oppose his attempts, but to the utmost of their power to

to proceed against him as an Enemy to Humane Society, and endeavour his Extirpation out of it. This upon the supposition of that one Law of Nature, that provides for the wellfare and happiness of all mankind, is an unavoidable consequence, & so is it upon supposition of Unity of Faith, that all that are bound to it, must be under one common Government. But because the World is ill-Govern'd, it is an unhappy way of arguing to make that a Precedent, that the Church should be so too. *Arg. 4* God has granted to the Church certain Powers. as the Power of the Keys, a Power to Enact Laws, a power to Excommunicate, a Power to hold Assemblies, and a power to ordain Governours. But to all this it is answered, *that these Powers are granted to particular Churches, not to the whole as distinct from the parts.* They are granted to both, to every particular Church over its own Members, and to the whole Church over every particular Church, and *whether as such it be distinct from all its parts,* is a dispute too Metaphysical for me to undertake; but as consisting of them all, it has a Power over every one, and if there were no such Power common to all, it were in vain to grant any of these powers to each particular Church, because without that these would be utterly defeated

feated of their Force and Efficacy; for example, supposing a power in a particular Church to punish an Offender by Excommunication, unless the force of that Excommunication reach to other Churches, it loses its effect, for notwithstanding that, he has a Right to Church-Membership in all the Churches through the whole World beside. And then he is as much cast out of the Church as any man would be out of *England*, that is driven from any one Village. So that from the right of exercising Discipline in each particular Church, the consequence is unavoidable, to infer the same common power in the Church Catholick. And that by our Authors leave was *St. Cyprian's* Inference. Not merely from these common Grants to infer this right in particular Churches, but to infer the same power in every part over it self, and in the whole over every part. And *St. Cyprian* is so perpetually beating upon this Argument, that I cannot enough wonder how it is possible that this learned Man should here so foully mistake him, as if he had confined the exercise of all Ecclesiastical Discipline to each particular Church. But the falsehood of it I have sufficiently shewed above. And beside what I have already alledged, there is one pregnant passage in his Epistle to *Steven Bishop of Rome*, against

against *Marcian Bishop of Artes* to this purpose. *Idcirco, frater charissime, copiosum corpus est sacerdotum concordie mutuae glutino atque unitatis vinculo copulatum, ut si quis ex collegio nostro haeresin facere, & gregem Christi lacerare & vastare tentaverit, subveniant caeteri, & quasi pastores utiles & misericordes, oves dominicas in gregem colligant.* 'Therefore, most dear

Brother, is the body of the Priesthood 'so large combin'd together by the cement of concord and bond of Unity, 'that if any of our Colledges shall attempt to raise Heresies and Schisms, the 'rest ought to come in, and as watchful 'and tender Pastors reduce the Lords 'Sheep to his Flock. Every Bishop was to watch over his own Flock, but the whole Body or Colledge of Bishops over every Bishop, and therefore the power lodged in them all, was but one common power seated in the Catholic Church, so far was *St. Cyprian* from dreaming of the confinement of its exercise to particular Churches. As for the following Arguments and Answers, they are to the same purpose with these I have already examined, and are for the most part repetitions of the same, and run into the same principles, that all Unity is nothing but either Unity of Faith, or voluntary Agreement, both which are already

so often proved to be no Unity without an Unity of Government, that to avoid being tedious I shall say no more but proceed to examine our Learned Author's own Arguments, and in them he is more unhappy then in his Answers, for they are so many very good Arguments against himself.

First then, *This being of so great weight would have been declared in Holy Scripture.*

And so it is, and nothing more so to any man of common sense. I will challenge all the World to shew me any one thing more earnestly enjoyn'd and frequently recommended then the preservation of Unity among Christians, and then if without an Unity of Government, no other could be possibly preserv'd, as our Author has proved from common sense and common experience, that must be the thing principally commanded by all those injunctions. But such arguing as these suppose all men very great Blockheads, as if they were not able to understand any thing unless it were beaten into them, whereas the Scripture supposes Mankind endued with common sense, that can apply general Laws to particular cases, without being guided, like Beasts, every

every step they take. And thus our Saviour having instituted the Society of his Church, and established Governors in it, when he enjoins them to be careful to preserve Unity, no Man can be so dull as not to understand, that he thereby requires them to make use of all means of obtaining it, but especially such as are necessary to its preservation in all Societies. And therefore whether this Unity of Government be injoin'd in express words in Scripture, I will not concern my self to enquire, because 'tis as clear there to all Men of common Sense, as if it were so injoin'd, and that is enough.

But Secondly, *There appears no such thing in the Apostolical practice.*

What, did not the Apostles keep Unity among themselves? Did they not Govern the Church, as much as they could, by common consent? Did not every particular Apostle give an account of his own Churches to the whole Colledge? Did they not advise together upon Emergent Controversies? And was not every Man concluded by the Vote of the whole Council? It is strange to me to see it affirm'd, that they observed no such Polity in founding Christian Societies, when there is no one thing more observable in their

their whole History, then their great care to maintain Peace, Love, and Unity among all Churches, and that is the very establishment of this Polity; for a duty or obligation common to several Societies, supposes one Government common to them all, to which every Society is accountable for the discharge of its Duty. Every passage that recommends Union among the Members of that Body, of which Christ is Head, is an express Command to this Duty; for he is Head of the Catholique Church, and the Catholique Church is his whole Body, and therefore particular Churches are only Members of it; and therefore as such, they are obliged by such Precepts to keep the Unity of the whole. If our Learned Author mean, that this Communion was not establish'd between all Churches in the Apostles time; I will grant it, because it was impossible that it should, till the settlement of Christianity in the World was brought to some perfection, and till then such a Confederation in Discipline could not be established in all places. For some of them travelling into remote Parts and Founding Churches there, such distant Churches could not keep up any common Discipline among themselves, for want of

convenient Correspondence. But as far as this design could be put in practice, it was pursued by the Apostles, keeping Peace and Unity among all Neighbour Churches.

But Thirdly, *The Fathers make the Unity of the Church to consist only in the Unions of Faith, Charity, Peace, not in this Political Union.*

First, suppose they do, yet if a Political Union be necessary to preserve those other Unions, that must be implied in them. But

Secondly, What Fathers make it to consist *only* in those Unions? Does any Father affirm that there is no other Union in the Church, but only of Faith, Charity and Peace? that were to the purpose; but because they sometime speak of those Unions, to conclude that they affirm that there is no other, only shews a miserable scantiness of proof, and yet beside this the chief Passages that he alledges out of them refer to this Political Union. His first Instance of the Church of *Rome's* refusing to receive *Marcion* to Communion, because he was Excommunicated by his own Father the Bishop of *Sinope*, a small Diocess in *Pontus*, is the most remarkable Precedent of this Unity of Discipline that he could have

have pitched upon in all the Records of the Ancient Church; for if they were obliged not to admit him into Communion in one Church, when he was Excommunicate in another, then they were under some Law of Government common to both; how else should the Church of *Rome* be obliged to put in execution a censure of the little remote Church of *Sinope*? And yet too without this obligation the Discipline of the Church would be utterly defeated, for what had become of that, if it had not been of force at *Rome*, and every where else, as well as at home. And of the same nature is the known and famous case of *Synesius*, who, when he had Excommunicated *Andronicus* and his Companions, requires of all Bishops in the World not to receive them to Communion under pain of Excommunication, as dividing that Unity of the Church which Christ has appointed. Though this was only for the greater caution, for though he had not given this notice, they were all obliged under the same penalty of Excommunication not to admit them to Communion, without their Bishop's Certificate or Communicatory Letters; and as long as that rule was observed, which was till the time of the Usurpation, the

Discipline of every particular Church was without any trouble effectual in all Churches all the World over. But to return to *Marcion*, the reason, says our Author, why the *Roman Church* refused Communion to *Mercion*, when he was Excommunicated by his Father, was because his Father and they were of one Faith, and one Mind. And let it be the reason if he pleases, for what can follow thence, then that Unity of Faith obliges to Unity of Discipline ? And that too is expressly enough infer'd in the following words, which he has omitted, *We cannot, i. e. we ought not to act contrary to our fellow Minister.* But after all we need only refer this whole matter to our Learned Author's own decision, who has given his judgment of it in these words : ' It is a rule grounded upon apparent Equity, ' and frequently declared by Ecclesiastical Canons, that no Church shall admit into its Protection or Communion ' any Persons who are Excommunicated ' by another Church, or who do withdraw themselves from it. And this he proves by the Canon of the *African Fathers* against Appeals to *Rome*, by the proceedings against *Marcion*, by *St. Cyprian's* repulse of *Maximus*, and *Novatian*, and *Cornelius of Pictetissimus*, by the punishment

nishment of *Dioscorus*, who was deposed for it, and by the Mandate of *Synesius* to all Christian Churches against *Andronicus* ! And what can we desire more than this, That as this Rule was a standing Law of the Christian Church, so it was grounded upon apparent Equity ; and such Laws are Obligatory all the World over, because their Violation is apparent Iniquity ; in short, it was no Arbitrary Rule, but such an one as was its own obligation by its own intrinsic Goodness and Usefulness. As for our Authors Passages out of *Tertullian*, they do him as little Service as this Precedent of *Marcion* : For they expressly assert this Unity of Discipline in the Catholique Church. *We are one Body by our agreement in Religion, our Unity of Discipline, and our being in the same Covenant of hope.* What can be more evident then that he makes the Unity of the Christian Body to consist in an Unity of Discipline as well as of Faith ? And to the same purpose are all his other Passages out of the Ancients, that from the Unity of Faith in all Churches infer this Unity of Discipline, as is obvious to any one that will but peruse them. The Fourth Argument is only a Repetition of the two first, and therefore is already consider'd.

And so is the fifth, viz. That this Unity could not comport with the Apostolical State of the Church, when Christian Churches were founded in such distant places, as could not with convenience correspond. That is to say, it was not reduced to practice till it was practicable, and that I must acknowledge it was not in all places till after the Apostles, but as far as it could be obtain'd it was carefully observed from the beginning. The Sixth Argument taken from the *αὐτονομία* or liberty of particular Churches to govern themselves, I have answered in the foregoing Discourse, by shewing its Consistency with its Subjection to the Catholique Church, because as our Learned Author here very well observes, *The Peace of the Church was preserved by Communion of all parts together, not by the subjection of the rest to one part.* But the truth is, in prosecuting this Argument, he has not only answered that but all the rest, by confessing the absolute necessity of this Political Verity; so that without it Christianity must have perished, by referring the judgment of the cause to St. Cyprian, and by acknowledging a double relation or capacity in every Bishop, one toward his own Flock, another toward the whole Church, and that

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that is all the Political Union we contend for.

But Seventhly, This Political Unity does not accord with the nature of the Gospel, because it would bring too much Worldly State and Grandeur into the Church, as appears by the Papal Monarch. And that is true, a Monarchical Unity would naturally bring in a Worldly Kingdom, but not such an Unity as consists in the Communion of all Parts together, and not in the Subjection of the rest to one part, as our Author expresses it, or as Mr. Thorndike often repeats it, *That not the infinite Power of one Church, but the Regular Power of all, is the mean provided by the Apostles for attaining Unity in the Whole.* This is the state of the Question between us, and therefore all our Authors flourish about the Papal Tyranny are nothing but flourish, because it is so far from being that Catholick Unity that we own, that it is the whole design of this work to prove, that it is a most execrable and impudent subversion of it. The 8th and 9th Arguments proceed upon the same Supposition of a Papal Monarchy. The tenth upon its no Necessity, against our Authors own confession. The 11th and 12th because such an Unity was never in

fact attain'd. If he means in full perfection, no more was ever any Government, and therefore it is not to be required in this World; but if he means that it was never put in practice, so as in good measure to attain its end, the whole History of the Church, down to the Papal Usurpation contradicts it, as appears by the whole Series of this Discourse. This is all that this learned Man has alledged upon this Argument, and from it the Reader I hope is sufficiently satisfied, how little that has to alledge for it self, for he was a person of that comprehensive mind that he never omitted any thing pertinent to his design, was never in debt to any cause that he undertook, nor ever fail'd that, but when that fail'd him, and therefore when we see so great a man able to say so little in defence of this un-catholick Assertion, that is the strongest proof that we can have, and perhaps stronger then any we could have had without it, that it is utterly indefensible.

PART II.

PART II.

SECT. I.

HAVING in the former Part of this Discourse set down the practice of the Church, both as to the Exercise of its own Jurisdiction within it self, and its entire subjection to the Civil Powers, whilst it subsisted meerly upon its own Charter, without any Assistance or Protection from them: We are now arrived at a new state of things, as they stood under Christian Emperors. And here we shall find that the Government, and the Constitution of the Church continued, as it had ever been within it self; and that the Christians, when the Empire was on their side, own'd the same kind of Subjection, and that upon the same Principles of Duty, to the Civil Government, that they had ever done in the times of Persecution; and when I have made good both these, it will make up a compleat Demonstration both of the unalienable Power of the Church within it self, and of the Sense of the Catholique Church, unani-

unanimously condemning all resistance against the Civil Government in any case, but most of all in the case of Religion. Under *Constantine* the Great it is not to be doubted but that they were forward enough in their Loyalty and Obedience to his Government, for all Men are for the Government, when the Government is for them; and therefore this part of the Enquiry concerning the Peaceable behaviour of Christians under his Reign is wholly superseded, because if they did their Duty, they had no motive or temptation not to do it, submission to his Government being no less their Interest than their Duty, and therefore it was no matter of Praise or Vertue in them, if they own'd and honour'd that Power that was their peculiar Deliverance and Protection. So that this side of the Controversie I shall altogether wave in this place, and only consider the Ecclesiastical State of things under his Government, where I once intended to have Exemplified the due Exercise of Regal Supremacy in the Christian Church from his Example.

First, As a Sovereign Prince.

Secondly, As a Christian Sovereign. And that

First, In matters of Faith and Christian Doctrine.

Secondly, In matters of Discipline and Christian Government, and here particularly,

First, Of his Power in Summoning Councils, as Supreme Governor of a National Church.

Secondly, Of that Obligation that he brings upon himself, by becoming a Christian,

First, To abet the Power of the Church with his own Secular Authority.

Secondly, To endow it with a Revenue for the maintenance of the Service of God, and those that attend upon it.

But upon more mature deliberation I thought it much more adviseable to forbear all such Reasonings and Discourses, till I had first set down the whole matter of Fact, as things stood, not only under his Reign, but all the Succeeding Emperors, where we shall find Precedents enough to make up a Demonstration of all the fore-mentioned Principles. But because this is the first Instance of Uniting Church and State into one Body, and because this Wise and Prudent Emperor seems to have exerted his Power in both exactly, according to the Rules both of Religion and Government, I shall the more curiously consider the management of Affairs under his Reign,

Reign, whereby will be fully exemplified how this Union may be reduced to practice, without any Diminution of either Power; or Confusion of one with another, and that will plainly demonstrate wherein consists the Original Rights of the Church in a Christian State, and the due Exercise of the Supremacy of Christian Kings over all Ecclesiastical Persons, Rights, and Powers. Now because the Supreme Power in all Government is the Legislative Power, and is the thing most disputed in this Controversie, I shall shew that he was so far from annexing this Power in the Church to the Imperial Crown, that he expressly asserted its inherent Right, and Protected it in its Exercise within it self, with all his zeal and ability. In that whenever he had a mind to have any Ecclesiastical Laws Enacted, he never presumed to do it by his own Authority, which he ever declared would have been no less Crime then to invade the Power of God himself, but always referred the matter to the Bishops in Council, and by their Canons he framed his Ecclesiastical Laws, but never made any without or against them. And that is a full and clear acknowledgement of that antecedent Authority that they enjoyed by our Saviour's appointment, when,

when he constituted the Apostles and their Successors, Supreme Governors of his Church to the End of the World. So that in all Changes and Revolutions of things, their Government must remain unalterable and indefeasible, and whatever Assistance or Opposition it met with from the Powers of the World, it still kept close to its own Original Jurisdiction. But then again, though this Emperour permitted the Church the just Exercise of its inherent right of Enacting Ecclesiastical Laws, yet he did it so as to preserve to himself his own Imperial Prerogative of Supervising all their Acts and Proceedings, and either to give their Decrees force of Law, or wholly to reject them, as seem'd good to his Royal Wisdom. The two great Controversies of the Church in his time (and the greatest that ever were at any time) were the Schism of the *Donatists*, and the Heresie of the *Arians*; one concerning a point of Doctrine, and another of Discipline; both which he referred not to his Senate, his Privy Council, or his *Præfetti-Prætorio*, but to the Judgment and Determination of Ecclesiasticks, to settle the Debates as they were directed by the Rules of Faith, and the Laws and Customs of the Church, but so as to re-serve

serve to himself Supreme Inspection of the whole matter, as far as it concerned the Peace of Church and State: Which in all Christian Common-wealths is the same thing, for there all Ecclesiastical Schisms are really so many breaches of the Civil Peace.

First, As for the Schism of the *Donatists*, it broke out about the beginning of *Constantine's* Reign, most say the very same year 306, upon occasion of the Laws concerning the Restitution of the *Lapsi*, by which any Clergy-man that had fallen in Persecution, or committed any other enormous Crime, was to be punished by perpetual deposition, so that though upon Penance and Satisfaction he might be received to Lay-Communion, yet he was never to be restored again to his Office in the Church. Thus one of the three *Italian* Bishops, that had been decoyed to the Consecration of *Novatian* in order to a Canonical presence for his Schism, was upon submission and confession of his fault, received by *Cornelius* into Lay-Communion, as he declares in his Synodical Epistle to *Fabian* of *Antioch* ὁ δὲ ἐκκοινωνήσας ὡς λαϊκῷ. And so *Trophimus* a Bishop, that had promoted the same Schism in the *Roman* Church, was upon his Repentance absolved,

absolved, but yet only admitted to Lay-Communion, as *St Cyprian* declares in his Epistle to *Antonianus*, Sic tamen admissus est *Trophimus* ut Laicus communicet, non quasi locum Sacerdotis Usurpet. *Trophimus* was so received, that he might communicate as a Laick, not that he might Usurp the place of a Priest.

And so the same *St. Cyprian* with great indignation complains of the violation of the same Rule by *Fortunatian* Bishop of *Assur*, Graviter & dolenter motus sum, fratres charissimi, quod cognoverim *Fortunatianum* quondam apud vos Episcopum, post gravem lapsum ruinæ suæ, pro integro nunc agere velle, & Episcopatum sibi vindicare cœpisse. 'I am grievously troubled to hear that *Fortunatian* heretofore your Bishop, should after so foul a fall, presume to take upon himself the Episcopal Office. And so in the Case of *Basilides* and *Martialis* Spanish Bishops, that had sacrificed, and yet challenged their Bishopricks, he sets it down as a judged Case. That it is in vain for such men Frustrâ tales Episcopatum sibi usurpare conantur, cum manifestum sit ejusmodi homines nec ecclesiæ Christi pos-

se præſſe, nec Deo ſacrificia offerre debere. Maximè cum jam pridem nobiſcum & cum omnibus omnino Episcopis in toto mundo conſtitutis, etiam Cornelius Collega noſter ſacerdos paſſificus ac juſtus, & Martyrib quoque dignatione domini honoratus, decreverit ejuſmodi homines ad pœnitentiam quidem agendam poſſe admitti; ab ordinatione autem Cleri atque ſacerdotali honore prohiberi.

Now this being the received and ſettled Diſcipline of the Chriſtian Church, it happened that under the Perſecution by *Diocleſian* and *Maximinian*, the Chriſtians were put to a new ſort of Tryal, for whereas the old way was to bring them to ſacrifice the Idol Gods, in this Reſcript of theſe Emperors they were required upon pain of death to deliver up their Bi-

over the Church of God, not to offer ſacrifice to him. Eſpecially when long ſince it was agreed by all the Biſhops in the whole World, and particularly Cornelius our Colleague, a good and peaceable Biſhop, whom it pleaſed our Lord to honour with the Crown of Martyrdom, that ſuch Offenders might be admitted to the Priviledge of Penance, but never to the Order of the Clergy and ſacerdotal honour.

bles, whence they that did ſo, had the name of *Traditores*, and were juſtly eſteem'd by the Church Guilty of the ſame Crime of Apoſtacy as thoſe that ſacrificed; and therefore lyable to the ſame puniſhment. And this it was that gave occaſion to the Schiſm. of the *Donatiſts*, viz. That *Cæcilian* Biſhop of *Carthage* was either himſelf a Traditor, and ſo incapable of receiving holy Orders, or that he was ordain'd by *Felix* Biſhop of *Aptung* a Traditor, and ſo incapable of giving them. And had their pretence been true, and ſo judged by the Church, the *Donatiſts* had been no Schiſmaticks, becauſe by the cuſtomary Laws of the Church, *Cæcilian* muſt have been excluded from any capacity of Office in it. And therefore this controverſie that created ſo much trouble to the Chriſtian World, was not at firſt about any difference of Opinion: for both parties were agreed that no Traditor could be ordain'd to the Office of a Biſhop, and that every Biſhop that was a Traditor, ought to be depoſed from it: But the only diſpute was whether the Perſons accuſed, were really guilty of the Crimes laid to their Charge. If they were innocent, and ſo pronounced by the Judgment of the Church, then after that the Accuſers were apparent Schiſmaticks,

in dividing Communion from their lawful Bishop. This was the only point at the first Rupture, but when an open Schism was made the Schismaticks soon run into all the extravagancies of the *Novations*, and there was then no pure Church in the World but their own, and all Christians that were not of their Faction were no better then *Jews* and *Heathens*, whilst all that came from other Churches into theirs, thereby became the only true Children of God. And for that reason they admitted Converts from the Catholicks to their Communion upon the same terms that they did the *Heathens*. If they were in Orders, they reordain'd them, if *Laicks*, they rebaptised them, because whatever was done in the Catholick Communion could be of no Effect, as being done out of the Christian Church. These and a great many more Enormities we shall find in their History, because as their Faction grew in strength, so it improved in Insolence, till it run it self into all manner of rudeness and outrage, and at last perisht in meer Rebellion. For that was the Case of this Schism, that when there was once a form'd party set up against the Civil Government, all people of perverse tempers naturally flock't into it, not for any love of Religion,

gion, put purely to rub and gratifie the Scab of their innate peevishness, especially when they were flatter'd into an Opinion of higher Priviledges and Prerogatives then their Neighbours, and thereby enjoyed that drunken and transporting pleasure of looking down upon them with holy scorn and disdainful Pity. And by this Artifice they drew almost all *Africa* after them, the *Africans* being of all People most addicted to Innovation, and though the People were outrageous in their zeal, yet for what they never understood nor enquired. Insomuch that the Leaders and Writers themselves, that followed after, were utterly ignorant of the Nature and the Rise of the Quarrel, as *Optatus* plainly proves that *Parmenian* himself was, though he was the Metropolitan of the Schism. And in the Conference at *Carthage* under *Honorius*, when they were only put to it to shew in what they differ'd from the Catholicks, and upon what grounds they divided, the Party was so amazed and surprized with their own want of Pretence, that they were utterly vanquish't only because they could not tell what they would have.

But of the Progress of this Schism we shall account afterwards, as for its Birth, it sprung from no better Original theri

Pride and Peevishness, supporting it self with a bold and bottomless Lye. Some few persons had in pursuance of their own private Piques and Passions, set up a Faction against their Bishop, and then to justify themselves load him with all the foul Stories that they could invent, no matter whether true or false, that is all one to the Rabble, who easily run away with any thing that is Factious or ill-natur'd; and if they can but once get in numbers enough to make up a Faction, all Factions are Snow-Balls. The Story is this, upon the death of *Mensurius* Bishop of *Carthage*, *Cæcilian* was chosen by the Majority of Votes to succeed against the competition of *Botrus* and *Celestus*, and received his Consecration from *Felix* Bishop of *Ap-tung*, and some of the Neighbour Bishops of the same Province, but from none of *Numidia*, which *Optatus* says, was done by the contrivance of the Competitors, presuming to carry the Plurality of Votes; but *St. Austin* says it was done in compliance with an immemorial custom, that the Bishop of *Carthage* was always ordain'd by the Bishops of his own Neighbourhood; but because he brings no proof of his Assertion, I am afraid it is one of his bold and lavish sayings, when he is in hast or distress; for next to *St. Jerom*, his loose

loose and fluent way of Writing, has occasion'd more mistakes in the Records of the Church, then any other of the Ancients, and men that are so voluminous and write so quick, cannot avoid stumbling into multitudes of hasty and careless slips. And therefore the Authority of *Optatus* is here rather to be followed, that the disgust was taken by the *Numidian* Bishops because they were not call'd to the Consecration, & this is made the more probable by the peculiar state of the *African* Church, for though other Provinces were Govern'd by their own Provincial Synods, by whom their own Metropolitans were ordain'd, yet this Church, notwithstanding that it consisted of three Provinces, *Africa* properly so call'd, *Numidia* and *Mauritania*, as they reckoned up in the Council under *St. Cyprian* about rebaptizing Hereticks, kept so close a Communion among themselves, as if they had been but one Province. And we find them all along not acting apart, but all together, as one Common-Council. And that I guess to be the Sense of the words in *St. Cyprian's* Epistle to *Cornelius*, *Latius fusæ est nostra Provincia; habet etiam Numidianas & Mauritanias duas sibi coherentes*. Where the mention of the *Mauritanie duæ* is supposed by the Learn-

ed to have crept into the Text out of some Marginal Notes, and so it must have done, for there was no such division of that Province, that we ever read of, till *Constantine's* new division of the Empire, and therefore the true ancient reading must have been this, *habet etiam Numidiam & Mauritaniam sibi coherentes*; but take which reading we will, St. *Cyprian's* plain meaning can be no other then this, That beside his own peculiar Province of *Africk* properly so called, of which *Carthage* was the Metropolis, he had two other Provinces, *Numidia* and *Mauritania*, inseparably annex't to his Communion; by which means he tells *Cornelius* that he was able to do him so great service in *Africk*. So that the words are not to be understood, as they commonly are, as if he had been the Metropolitan of those three Provinces, but that he was Metropolitan of that Province, to which the two other were United in a particular Communion.

But to let pass these Critical Conjectures, *Cæcilian* is no sooner entered upon his See, but he demands of the Presbyters of his Church the Goods that he found delivered to them in an Inventory left by his Predecessor *Mensurius*. But they having embezzell'd the whole Treasury of the Church, and finding themselves

themselves in danger to be call'd to a severe reckoning, joyn Faction with his defeated Competitors, and conspire to renounce Communion with him. To this *Lucilla* a Rich, a Proud, and a Factious Lady joyns her self, her Zeal, and her Money, out of revenge to *Cæcilian*, who whilst he was a Presbyter had reprov'd her for some affectedness and singularity in devotion, and that sort of People if once they are any way disobligh'd, are of all others the most implacable, and therefore St. *Jerom* puts her in his Famous Catalogue of Female Hereticks.

Simon Magus had his Helena, Nicholas the Father of uncleanness a whole Regiment of Gossips, Marcian sent a woman before him to Rome, to prepare the minds of the People for receiving his Imposture. Apelles had his Philumine, Montanus by Prisca and Maximilla debauches the Women first with Gold and then with

Simon Magus Heresim condidit, Helenæ meretricis adjutus auxilio; Nicholas Antiochenus omnium immundiciarum repletor choros duxit famineos. Marcion Romam præmisit Mulierem, quæ decipiendos sibi animos præpararet. Apelles. Philomenem suarū habuit comitē doctrinarū. Montanus immundi

Epist. ad Ctesiphontem.

di spiritus prædicator per Priscam & Maximillam nobiles & opulentas sæminas primùm auro corrumpit, deinde hæresi polluit. Dimittam vetera, ad viciniora transcendam, Arius ut Orbem deciperet forum principis antè

decepit. Donatus per Africam ut infelices quosque fatentibus pollueret aquis, Lucillæ opibus adjutus est.

These were the *Amazons* and the *Penthefiles* of their several Sects, and by them we may see, that it has ever been the Policy of all Impostors to put their main strength in their Female Forces, knowing their Cause to be better maintained by noise and talk, then sense and reason. I remember *Livy* somewhere tells us, that the *Romans* in times of great Pestilence and Mortality, when they burnt their dead bodies not in single Urns, but in vast Heaps and Piles, were careful to intermix the womens bodies with the men, as being more unctuous and combustible in themselves, and so more apt to convey the fire to the other Corpses, that other-

Heresie. And to come nearer our own time, Arius that he might deceive the World, inveigles the Emperors Sister; and Donatus that he might gain Profelytes to his Schism in Africk, is assisted by the wealth of Lucilla.

otherwise would have burnt but slowly without them. This is the very practice of the Incendiaries of the Church in all Ages, when they would enflame the men into a Combustion, they always first set fire on the women, and when they would burn down the House, they thrust the Firebrand into the Thatch, that both easily takes Fire it self, and certainly conveys it to the solid Timber. But to proceed in our History. The party being thus cemented together by Ambition, Covetousness, and Revenge, they write to *Secundus* Primate of *Numidia*, & to the other Bishops of that Province that were not invited to the Election and Consecration of *Cæcilian*, to depose him as having been ordain'd by a Traditor. They met at *Cirta* afterwards call'd *Constantina*, upon pretence of Electing a new Bishop of that Diocess, and having chosen one *Paulus* a very ill man, and a known Traditor, they proceed to the deposition of *Cæcilian*. But before they can pass sentence against him, they were first obliged to clear themselves of the Crime. But upon Examination of every particular Person, they all Convict one another of Guilt, and absolve one another by mutual consent. This being done, they adjourn to *Carthage*, summon *Cæcilian* to appear before them,

but

v. Augst. contra Crescon. lib. 3. cap. 26, 27, 28.

but he refuses, they being only a Combination of his profess't Enemies, and upon it they immediately depose him for his Obstinacy, and put *Majorinus*, who was Chaplain to Madam *Lucilla*, in his place, and send their Encyclical Letters to all the Bishops in *Africa*, to signify that they had renounced Communion with *Cæcilian* and all his Adherents as Traditors. And this being done, the people were told that *Cæcilian* was no Church-Officer, that under him they could have no true Sacraments, nor enjoy any means of Salvation, but were in the same forlorn condition with Pagans and Idolaters. But with themselves were the pure Gospel Ordinances, and all that were Members of their Church, were made Holy without spot or wrinkle. Amongst them the most forward of the Faction was *Donatus à Casa Nigrâ*, who being the first that set up a Conventicle, gave name to the Schism. And he having a Natural Faculty of Canting and Insinuating into the Affections of the Rabble, soon inveigled so great a number into his Party, that they forsook their private Meetings, and built publick Churches, and there inveighed openly against the Idolatry of *Cæcilian* and the Catholicks (for that is the custom of all Fanaticks to improve every

every thing into Idolatry) began the miserable state of all that would not leave that to joyn with them, and scare the People with perpetual Alarms of certain ruine and destruction if they will not come out of *Babylon*. By these Arts they prevail every where, and the Schism is on a suddain spread all over *Africk*, so as not only to enflame the Church, but to endanger the publick Peace. About which time *Constantine* having vanquish't *Maxentius*, he thereby added *Italy* and *Africk* to his Government, and for the encouragement of Christianity in *Africa*, he sends *Cæcilian* large sums of Money to be distributed by him among the Clergy of the three Provinces, and grants them immunities from all publick Burthens. And about the same time, the *Donatists* finding themselves over power'd by the Catholicks, present *Anulinus* the Pro-Consul with a Petition of Appeal to the Emperor ; and though afterward, when they found themselves check't by the Civil Government, their great Clamour was, *Quid Christianis cum Regibus ? Aut quid Episcopis cum Palatio ?* What have Christians to do with Kings, or Bishops with the Court ? Yet they were (as St. *Austin* justly upbraids their disingenuity) the first Christians that ever fled from

from the Judgment of the Church, to the Civil Government. Though as for this first Appeal, this is to be said for them, that they did not Appeal to the Emperour's own Judgment, but only Petition'd him, That he would be pleas'd to appoint them Judges of the Cause in the Church of *France*, because that Church having wholly escaped the Persecution, the Bishops of it would be more unconcern'd, and impartial Judges of the Cause of the Traditors. Whereas themselves were so divided and engaged at home, that it was not possible to have any fair determination in *Africa*. And though the Request hitherto was not very unreasonable, yet the Emperour was highly displeased at it, out of that tender care and sollicitude that he ever had for the Peace and Concord of the Christian Church. But however for once he Commissions three *French* Bishops, together with *Melchiades* Bishop of *Rome*, to hear the Cause, who calling fifteen other *Italian* Bishops to their Assistance, undertake its judgment, in order to which Ten Bishops of each Party are commanded from *Africa* to attend the Council at *Rome*. Where three days are spent in Examination of Witnesses, but the *Donatists* bringing no proof a-

gainst

gainst *Cæcilian* himself, the Council declare him innocent. And whether *Fælix*, who Ordain'd him, were a Traditor or not, they would not enter into the Enquiry, as altogether remote from the cause of *Cæcilian*, because though he were to be deposed by the Canons of the Church, yet till those Canons were put in Execution by the Sentence of the Church, all the Acts of his Office were good and valid. But on the other side, *Cæcilian* plyed the *Donatists* so home with their own Weapon of Accusation, and their foul dealings at *Cirta*, and the briberies of Madam *Lucilla*, that they were forced to quit the Council. And yet that was so moderate in the Sentence against them, that it Excommunicated none of them, but only *Donatus à Casis Nigris*, that was found guilty of divers other foul Crimes, and the Author of all this mischief. But the rest were invited to return to the Unity of the Church, and offer'd the continuance of of whatever preferments they had in it, though they had been Ordain'd by *Majorinus*, or any others in a State of Schism.

§. II. But here happens such an unfortunate halt in the Story, as leaves Learned Men at an utter loss what chase

to

to follow, and every one takes his own way, so as that by the great variety of Opinions they have run the whole matter into confusion. All which is occasioned by a *Chasm* in *Optatus* his History, for here it breaks off and skips over the whole Transaction of the great Council of *Arles*, and hearing at *Milan*. Of which it is certain that *Optatus* could not be ignorant, who has so accurately described all the less material parts of the Story, and as *Baronius* argues very well, *Tot tantaque Concio toto Orbe a tam celebri Episcoporum conventu facta & ab Imperatore Edictis publicis definita in Donatistas, nequaquam Optatum præterisse potuerunt.* 'Things so many and so great, done in so famous a Council of Bishops known all the World over, and public Edicts made by the Emperor against the *Donatists*, could not possibly be altogether unknown to *Optatus*. And therefore this part of the story must needs have been lost, either through injury of time, or the fraud of the *Donatists*, which is most likely, for there was not any one Ancient Book, whose Copies were so corrupt and confused as this of *Optatus*, as *Baldwin* justly complains. But which way soever it came to pass, this part of the story being lost, and so the

Ad annum
314. Num.
52.

the Transactions that hapned some years after, as the Appeal of the *Donatists* from the Council of *Arles*, to *Constantine* at *Milan*, and his detaining *Cæcilian* at *Bress*, immediately following in this place, they are supposed to have been done at this time, though they hap'ned not till after the Council of *Arles*. Thus *Baronius* having procured from *Petrus Pithæus* *Constantine's* Letter to the Catholique Bishops upon the *Donatists* Appeal to himself, after the Sentence against them at *Arles*, and divers other Papers relating to that Council, because in *Optatus* they immediately follow the Council of *Rome*, he has thrust them in there, to the great confusion of the story, as if they had been done immediately after that Council, when they ought to have been placed after the Council of *Arles*. And this is evident enough from the words themselves, that immediately follow the Sentence of *Melchides*. *Sufficit ergo & Donatum tot Sententiis esse percussam, & Cæcilianum tanto judicio esse purgatum, & tamen Donatus appellandum esse ab Episcopis credidit. Ad quam Appellationem Constantinus Imperator sic respondit, ô rabida furoris audacia; sicut in causis Gentilium fieri solet, Appellationem interposuerunt.* Now beside

beside that this Answer of *Constantine* is certainly known to have been made upon their Appeal from *Arles*, the *Tot Sententiæ* against *Donatus* here mentioned, could not be till after the judgment of that great Council; for before that, there was but one Sentence against him, *viz.* by the small Council at *Rome*, and therefore these Appeals from so many Judgments, and so great a Judicature (as *Optatus* speaks of) must have been after the Council of *Arles*. And that puts an end to the dispute among Learned Men, when the *Donatists* first Appeal'd to the Emperor from the Episcopal Judgment, whether after the Council at *Rome*, or not till after the Council at *Arles*. *Baronius*, *Binius*, *Petavius*, *Labbe* and others will have the first Appeal to have been from the Council at *Rome*, because it immediately follows so in *Optatus*. But this is confuted by *Valesius* (a Man learned and curious) with many pregnant passages out of *St. Austin*, expressly attesting that the *Donatists* only complain'd against the first Council at *Rome*, but Appeal'd from the second at *Arles*. And their different behaviour towards these Councils is every where so carefully remarked by him, that the Testimonies cannot be avoided. But then

then the Learned Man knows not how to bring off *Optatus*, but by leaving him under an enormous mistake of Memory, applying that which was done after the Council of *Arles* to the Council of *Rome*; or by some defect and corruption in the Copies, which he only suspects without assigning any ground or reason for his suspicion. But if he had only a little consider'd that the whole Story of the Council of *Arles* is omitted in the Books of *Optatus*; and that this Passage of the Appeal to *Constantine* relates to *divers Sentences*, which could not be till after the Sentence at *Arles*, he could not but have easily seen where lay the defect of the Copies. To which might be added, that this defect reaches not to the Council of *Arles* alone, but to some part of the Council of *Rome*; for whereas that consisted of a double Sentence, the Absolution of *Cæcilian*, and the Condemnation of *Donatus*, the latter part is wholly wanting in *Optatus*, and immediately after the Sentence of Absolution follow the words *Sufficit ergo Donatum tot Sententiis esse percussum, &c.* From all which it is put past all doubt where lyes the breach of the Copies, and how far it extends, *viz.* From the absolving Sentence of *Cæcilian* at *Rome* to the Appeal

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of

of the Schismatics from the Council at *Arles*. And this being observed, the story runs smooth and clear, that has hitherto been so confused and involved, as to be thought to report the same Appeal from both Councils, though it is evident that it can agree but to the last. Now this one difficulty being overcome, our Passage after it will be easie and pleasant, all the rest of the story lying in its due and proper order.

And what effect the Sentence of the Council at *Rome* had upon the Schismatics, we have a distinct account in the Emperors own Letter to *Ælasmus*, or rather *Ælianus*, his Præfect of *Africa*. For whereas we might reasonably have expected, that they should have acquiesced in the Authority of so fair, so grave and so gentle a Sentence, they return home exasperated with rage, and swoln with insolence, raise new Tumults, perpetually tease the Emperor with fresh Tales, and Complaints against *Cæcilian*, and represent him as utterly unworthy of any Office in the Christian Church. And when the Emperor replies that this was all in vain with him, because the whole business had been so fairly determin'd, by fit and unexceptionable Judges; they cry out, That their cause had not a legal

gal Tryal, that the Council was packt, that the proceedings were clancular, and the Judgment partial. The Emperour, such was the clemency of his Nature, and his tender care of the Peace of the Church, condescends to their importunity, and Summons the famous Council at *Arles*, of a much greater number of Bishops, and more unknown to each other, as coming out of the distant parts of Christendom, to review the Decree of the Council at *Rome*. This Council meets in the year 314, where the Schismatics repeat their old Stories against *Cæcilian*, but without any other proof then Popular Report raised by themselves; and therefore were not only condemn'd by the Council, but rejected with scorn and derision. And to prevent the like attempts of Forgery for the time to come, they make Canons to suppress that general way of Accusation, as Canon the 13th, they Ordain, That no Man shall be Convicted of having been a Traditor by bare Testimony, but by publick Acts and Records, and if any Man from that time be so Convicted, that then he shall be degraded from his Holy Orders; but if before his Conviction he have Ordain'd any, that his Crime shall be no prejudice to the validity of his

his Ordination. And Canon the 14th they Decree, That whoever falsely Accuse their Brethren (as the Schismatics had *Cæcilian* and *Fælix*) should not be received into Communion even at the hour of death, which was the severest Sentence in the Christian Church. This shameful overthrow makes great numbers of the Schismatics quit the Faction, and reconcile themselves to their Bishop: But the more stubborn and Seditious are not ashamed to Appeal (as it is their first Appeal) in the Council it self to the Emperor, and this is signified by the Council to him by Letter, to know his farther will & pleasure. From whence it is evident that the Emperor himself was not present in Council, as 'tis commonly supposed; and *Baronius*, *Binius*, and most of the *Roman* Writers, are so civil to him as to excuse his presence, though a Lay-man, because the controversy was not about any matter of Faith, but a particular matter of Fact concerning *Cæcilian*. And it is agreed among them, that of all such matters Lay-men are as competent Judges as Bishops. But however that may be, and what Right Sovereign Princes have of sitting in Council, whatever the matter of Debate may be, I shall discourse in its proper place. It is certain here that the

the Emperor was not present in Council, because they signified their proceedings to him by Letter, which if he had been present, they could or need not have done. And beside that, the thing is more then plain enough by the Appeal it self, for if *Constantine* had been there present, to what purpose was it for the *Donatists* to remove the Cause to him, that would have been only to Appeal from himself to himself. But he being inform'd of the design by the Letter from the Council, replies to it, with great detestation of the Schismatics Obstinacy and Perverseness, and wonders how they dare to Appeal to his Judgment, when they were already Condemn'd by the Judgment of God in the Votes of the Bishops, who in these matters judg'd in God's stead, and by his appointment. And therefore he esteems their Appeal as no less then Treason and Rebellion against God himself. But however he advises them to patience, and to give the Schismatics some time to consider, and if they persisted in their stubbornness, to give themselves no farther trouble about them, but to repair to their several Homes. And seeing the Schismatics had been so prophane as to make their Appeal to him, he would take care to

provide them Guards for their safe Conduct to his Court, *Ut ibi sibi mortem pervideant*, which whatever it signifies, is a very high threatening. So that after all, I do not find that *Constantine* ever in the least accepted of their Appeal, looking upon it as no less sin then an affront to God himself, but only resolved now to proceed against them, as a Sovereign Prince, with all severity, as factious and seditious Persons in the Empire.

And about this time was the business of *Felix* of *Aptung* examin'd by *Ælian* the Proconsul of *Africa*; for though it is generally supposed that this was done before the Council of *Arles*, yet it is evident by the Acts of the Court, that it was done the same year, and it is certain that there was no notice taken of it in the Council, and therefore the first account of it, that was return'd to the Emperour, must have been after its dissolution. And this it was, The Schismatics making such perpetual Clamours about *Felix* his being a Traditor, and though it was nothing to the Cause of *Cæcilian*, yet the Emperour having caught them in so many Factions and Stories, suspects every thing that they say of falsehood, and therefore writes to his Proconsul, to enquire into the mat-

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ter of Fact upon the place where it was transacted. He accordingly Examines all the Officers, that had belonged to the Court of Inquisition at *Aptung* under *Dioclesian*, at which time and place the Fact was laid against *Felix*, who all acquit him from any such Crime. And whereas the main Accusation was taken from some passages in a Letter of one *Cæcilian* a *Duumvir* of the City of *Aptung* to *Felix*, *Ingentius* a publick Notary confesses, That he was hired and suborn'd by the Schismatiques to forge the Epistle, and foist it into the Records of the Court. Upon which he is Committed to close Prison, and an account of the whole matter return'd to the Emperour, who now supposing that after so foul a discovery, if it were made publique over the Christian World, it would so shamefully expose the wickedness of the Schismatiques, that they could never have the confidence to appear more in a Cause so foul and base. But what method to take he could not suddenly resolve, one while he thinks of sending Commissioners, but then considering the Obstinacy of the Schismatics, he fears nothing will be effectually done, but by himself, and therefore resolves upon a Journey into *Africa*, to

fettle the whole matter there, but upon what occasion I know not, he changes his mind and summons the Parties concern'd to appear before himself at *Rome*, and writes to the present Proconsul *Probianus* to send *Ingentius* thither with a good Guard, *That he might publicly shame those seditious and troublesom People, that have the confidence to make continual Clamours, and raise false Stories against their Bishop, that so these Animosities and Contentions being quell'd, the People may be brought to attend the Devotion of the Church, with due Reverence, and without brawls and discords.* They are the Emperour's own words ; but for what cause 'tis not Recorded : *Cæcilian* appears not, and the *Donatists* that came, either finding themselves discovered by the coming of *Ingentius*, or for some other reason, endeavour to make their escape, but some of them are detain'd by force and sent in close custody to *Milan*. But those that Recover'd *Ægypt*, raised such Tumults there, as put the whole Country into an Up-roar, of which the Emperour is informed by *Celsus* the Governor, who orders him at present to take no notice of their disorders, but to hasten *Cæcilian* and his Accusers to *Milan*. And here I have

a strong fancy ought to have come in the mutilated Story of *Cæcilian's* confinement at *Brixia* in *Optatus* ; for as it follows after the *Chasm*, in which the whole Story of the Council of *Arles* is lost, so it agrees with *Constantine's* account with the variety of his own Resolutions, and the Transactions at *Milan*. For *Brixia* or *Bress* lay not far from that City, so that both of them might make up the Scene of this Affair. And therefore when the Schismatiques gain'd leave to return home, and procured *Cæcilian* to be detain'd, it was probably upon their dismissal, upon some change of the Emperour's Resolutions. But when they came home, they betake themselves to the constant Artifice of all Schismatics, to keep up their Faction by tricks and lyes. And therefore they raise mighty brags of their great Victory, and tell the People that *Cæcilian* was Condemn'd, and Imprison'd by the Emperour, and when once they had raised this lye among the Party, it was easie to keep it up for ever, insomuch that we find it confidently insisted upon, in the Conference at *Carthage*, an hundred years after. Upon this *Cæcilian* gets leave to return home for undeceiving the People, by which means the Faction

ons are raised, and the Tumults enflamed, and that occasions two Letters from the Emperor, the former to *Celsus*, to send *Cæcilian* and his Accusers, the latter dated from *Brixia* to the *Donatist* Bishops, commanding their immediate appearance, and withal assuring them, that if they can but make good any one Article against *Cæcilian*, it should weigh as much with him, as if they had proved the whole Charge, and this I suppose produced the Meeting at *Milan*, but whatever becomes of this conjecture of mine, and fragment of *Optatus*; it is certain that there they met, where all the foul dealings of the *Donatists*, especially the forgery of *Ingentius* being openly exposed, it is needless to tell what was the event, when it could be no other then that the Emperor should publicly declare the innocence of *Cæcilian*, and scoure away the Schismatics as a combination of incorrigible Knaves. But here *St. Austin* is concern'd to excuse the Emperour for judging an Ecclesiastical cause after the Episcopal Judicature, and a thousand excuses are invented for him by the *Roman* Writers; as his being then but a Novice in the Faith, and not sufficiently inform'd of the Discipline of the Church; or his being tired out

out by the restless importunity of the *Donatists*, so that he could enjoy no quiet till he yielded to it. These things may be true, but they are needles, for though it may not be proper for a Lay-man to judge in Ecclesiastical Causes, yet it may not be altogether unlawful, especially when the Peace of the State depends upon them, and that was the Emperour's case at this time, all *Africa* was in an Uproar, and in danger to be lost by the Sedition; and therefore it highly concern'd him to exert his own Power, as he would secure so great a part of his Empire, and upon that reason he might take the Judgment upon himself, thereby to restrain the *Donatists* from raising Disturbances and Seditions in the State. Though when all is done, it is certain that the Emperour never accepted the Appeal, nay that he protested against it, as an affront to the Divine Authority, and setting up his own Power above God's, appears not only from his Epistle to the Bishops at *Arles*, but his perpetual Declarations of it. And therefore it is not to be supposed that he would be prevail'd with to take upon himself a Judgment that he so solemnly disavowed. And therefore his design in hearing the Cause after Judgment, was not to judge,

judge, but to expose the Schismatiques, or to suffer them to expose themselves. For the cause was already so fully and clearly determin'd at the Council, that it could not admit any Review, but because they were so restless to have it re-heard before the Emperour himself, he at last seem'd to condescend to their importunity, when he knew it would prove their fatal overthrow, for it is observable that he would not meddle with the business at all, till he had the discovery of *Ingentius* his Forgery in his Pocket, with which they were so surpris'd, that instead of following their Suit, it utterly dispers'd them. And for the very same reason, he gave them other Hearings after his own Imperial Judgment, only to give them the greater scope to lay open themselves and their dishonesty to the World, as will appear anon in the foul discovery of *Nundinarius* the Deacon.

§. III. But after the Imperial Sentence against them, instead of submitting to so great an Authority and such clear Conviction, they raise high clamours of injustice and oppression, and when they return home put the People into Riots and Tumults, and seize a Church in *Numidia* belong-

belonging to the Catholicks, and of the Emperors own Foundation. Of which when complaint was made to the Emperour by the Bishops of the Province; such was then the fury of the Schismatics, and the disorder of the times, that at that time he could send them no other relief, then by exhorting them to patience, and bestowing a new Church upon them, not daring to inflict any punishment upon the Offenders for so long a Train of Sedition, but leaving them (as himself speaks) to the Judgment of God. And as he had not long before written to his Lieutenant *Celsus*, that he should forbear them a while, till himself could have leisure to visit *Africa*, so he now assures them, that when he comes, the Schismatics shall feel the Event of his Abused Patience, and that he doubted not, when he came to convince them of such manifest Villany, that would utterly spoil all their Glory of Martyrdom. For that they gave out to justify their stubbornness against the Imperial Edicts, that whatever punishments the Emperour decreed against them, they were ready to undergo as Martyrs for the truth of God, and therefore that they were so far from dreading any severity, that they desired the Execution of Penal Laws against them. And so

so they persist railing at the Emperor for denying Justice, and reviling the Catholics for inciting him to Persecution. Till at length he is forced to Enact severe Laws against them, and first of all, all their Meeting-houses are confiscated to the Crown, and accordingly seized on, and it hapned very luckily at that time that one *Nundinarius* a Deacon of the Donatists, who was privy to the first contrivance of the Schism, at their meeting at *Cirta*, discovers the whole Conspiracy to *Zenophilus* the Pro-Consul of *Numidia*, and proves both by publick Records, and a great number of Witneses, that *Silvanus*, whom they had made Bishop of *Cirta*, and the most factious man of the whole Party, was a Traditor, and that my Lady *Lucilla* had given the *Numidian* Bishops a great sum of Money to depose *Cæcilian*, and bestow his Bishoprick upon her Ladyships Chaplain. And this discovery being signified by *Zenophilus* to the Emperor, together with a Catalogue of the Seditious Practices of *Silvanus*, he condemns both *Silvanus*, and all the other Ring-leaders of the Faction, to perpetual Banishment, and that is the utmost severity that he ever proceeded to, for though some of them were sentenced to death, yet such was his natural Clemency, that

that he turn'd it into banishment and thus by seising their Conventicles and sending away their Leaders, he gave himself ease and quiet for some time from their disturbances. But now behold the constant ingenuity of all Schismatics, to be sure to beleager the State, when ever they find it in any distress, and to gain their own ends out of the publick Necessities, and to make what demands they please, when the Government is not in a condition to contend with them. And thus about this time the War between *Constantine*, and *Licinius* breaking out, the Donatists presently accost the Emperor with a bold Petition, both for granting liberty of Conscience, and recalling *Silvanus* and his Collegues from Banishment, are so confident as to tell him in broad expression, that they would suffer a thousand deaths before they would be reconciled to that *Prelatical Knave* of his, *Cæcilian*. And yet so involved were the Emperors Affairs at that time, that he was forced to grant whatever they demanded, and orders *Verinus* his Vice-Roy in *Africk* to leave them to their own Liberty. And that they used with all manner of Insolence, whilst the Civil War lasted, neither now would they be satisfied with their own Liberty at home, but endeavour

to spread their Schism into all parts of the Catholick Church, and poyson all the Emperors Dominions with the Spirit of Faction and Sedition. What Emissaries they sent into other Churches is not so well known, but to *Rome* they sent one *Vistor* as Titular Bishop of that See, who took upon himself all Episcopal Authority over his Party, and had many Successors in his Usurpation, but not having Liberty to keep their publick meetings in the City, they betook themselves to Field Conventicles, and Assembled in the Rocks and Mountains, and from thence were commonly call'd *Montenses*, *Campitæ*, and *Rupitani*. This is all that we have recorded of them in this Emperors Reign; for he having overcome *Licinius*, and being Master of the whole Empire, was big with a resolution to settle the Peace of the Church as well as the State, and once more to quell the Obstinacy of the Schism by the Authority of a General Council. But whilst he is designing this great and pious work, news is brought him of a worse Flame broke out at *Alexandria*, by means of the Heresy of *Arrius*, that had already engaged not only all *Egypt*, but was blown over into *Asia*, and for the suppression of this dangerous Schism (for so at first he look't upon it, and

and therefore only endeavoured to reconcile the Parties) he Summons the Great Council of *Nice*, to which among the other Famous Bishops that were present at it, *Cæcilian* was summon'd, but no Bishops of the *Pars Donati*, as supposing them out of the Communion of the Catholick Church. But after this Council we hear little or nothing of the Donatists in this Emperors Reign, himself and the Christian Bishops being wholly employed, in quenching that more fatal and pernicious Heresie, and how effectually and speedily he rooted up the Heresie it self, by the Authority of the Church abetted with the Imperial Power, we shall demonstrate in its proper place. For though after the Heresie it self was vanquish'd by this Council, the Hereticks or rather their Friends, created him infinite trouble about it, by Oblique Arts and for other ends; yet this I affirm, and shall prove, that they durst never own the Heresie it self, not only in his time but in all the time of his Son *Constantius* till the end of his Reign. And now here I ought to break off the Story of the *Donatists* with this Emperors History, but their Progress in Schism after his indulgence, is such a natural representation of the growth and improvement of Peevishness, if once left to its own liberty,

berty, that I cannot forbear to represent their whole Story at one View, especially because it suits a Parallel case that lyes at our own doors, so exactly, that two Indentures cannot be more like then these two Schisms. And the truth of it is, all Schisms are but the same, for though they are raised about different matters, yet they all move in the very same track of Sedition, till from meer peevishness they advance to the height of Cruelty, and end in Rebellion; and it is nothing else then the natural method of ill-nature and passion, if but suffered to pursue the bent of its own Inclinations. And therefore it is no wonder, if all Schismatics, howsoever distant in Time, Place, or Interest, follow one another so accurately in the very same steps, when they are all acted by one and the same Principle of Nature, then it is for Colts to be wild in all Parts of the World, if never brought under the Whip and Bridle. And that is the greatest benefit of Government, to be a curb to the ill-natur'd Passions of Mankind, for without that Man would be the most unruly of all Beasts, especially the meaner sort of the kind, the Rabble, that are ever drawn in, to be the chief Actors in these Religious Tumults. And that

is

is the reason, that these are more Cruel and Barbarous then other Seditions, because they are carried on by the wildest part of Mankind, that have heightened and enflamed their natural Salvageness, with the heats of Enthusiasm, and Principles of false Religion. All which will evidently appear, by comparing what our selves have seen and felt, with what these wild Schismatiques acted Thirteen hundred years since. The actions of both suiting so exactly to each other, that had they been the very same Men, they could not have acted more like themselves. The Twins that were so like, that their own Mother could not distinguish them, were not more so, then these two Schisms though born at such a distance of Time and Place.

§. IV. The *Donatists* then having by the Emperours forced Indulgence, and the Diversion given him by the *Arians*, gain'd so much ease and quiet, as not only to encrease their Schism at home, but to carry it into foreign Parts, it happened that about the year 331, *Donatus*, Surnamed the Great, succeeded Chaplain *Majorinus*; a Man of incredible Pride and Insolence, that pretended to familiarity with God; and Inspiration

Y 2

from

from Heaven ; that could Cant, could Lye, could Blasphe, shift his Face and Pretences, with a'l Turns of Affairs, when the Government was in any Streight, threaten it with the Numbers of his Party ; but when his Party was low, could write *Pleas for Peace* and forbearance, from the weakness of the Faction, and meekness of its Principles. And upon any great occasion he had his new Lights and Discoveries from Heaven, and when ever he pleased *God appear'd to him in Brightness, and shewed him the horns in his hands, to direct him for serving his Will in that Generation.* But above all, he had an implacable spight against a'l Superiours and Governors, but most particularly he set himself (so accursed was the Envy of his Pride to all that were above him) to revile and trample upon the Imperial Majesty it self; and to say all the ill that can be said of one Man in one word, he was the very *I.O.* of that *Rebellious and Schismatical Age.*

Under him were spawn'd the *Crumcellians*, a sort of Levellers or Army Saints, whom he stil'd the *Captains of the Godly*, and made them not only his own Life-Guard, but an Army against the Power of the Empire. These wandered up and down the Country in great

Bodies,

Bodys, and pretended to reform the Government by Plunder and Robbery, and wherever they came, set Apprentices free from their Masters, and Debtors from their Creditors, if they would but join with them, to pull down Idolatry and Arbitrary Government : And force poor Men to deliver up their Bonds and Indentures to save their Lives. And yet all this while they were a very praying People, and sought the Lord for direction in all their Villanies. And now it is no wonder if Men of these desperate Principles, and managed by such a Guide as *Donatus*, proceeded to the heighth both of folly and outrage ; in somuch that whilst they were in the heat of their Blood and Zeal, they feared no danger, out of Ambition of being Martyrs for the cause of God, and some of them were so wildly transported, as to hang drown, and stab themselves for the Glory of the Lord. And thus for many years they harassed *Africa* with their Insolence and Cruelty, and made the habitable parts of the Country more salvage then the Deserts themselves. No Man could dwell in his own House, or Travel abroad about his business with any safety, but all was exposed to the Rapine of these merciless Robbers. Till

at length, after unspeakable Patience, complaint being made by the Catholicks to the Emperor *Constans*, of their deplorable condition, he sent two Commissioners, *Paulus* and *Macarius*, with a shew of dividing the Emperors bounty among the poor and distressed, and by that means to soften them from that fierceness, that they had contracted by this wild Schism, to some sense of Duty towards their Superiors, and of Humanity towards their Neighbours. The Commissioners coming into *Africa* consult with the Bishops what course was fittest to be taken: But the Party of *Donatus* Combine one and all to hinder all their endeavours of Concord, and dispatch Letters and Messengers into all Parts aforehand, forbidding their People to receive any thing of the Emperor's Bounty, it being a scandal to the People of God to receive any Alms from Sinners. And beside this, the Rabble are frighted with flying Reports and Stories, that the Commissioners brought along with them the Emperors Images, that were to be placed upon the high Altar, at the time of Celebrating the Eucharistical Sacrifice; that so the People might be drawn in, to give Divine Worship to the Imperial Image, and so become guilty

of

of Idolatry, and from this time the words Pagan and Idolator were the two most common Titles that they bestowed upon the Catholicks. Nay farther then all this, when the Commissioners acquaint the great *Donatus* with their Message, he replies with his usual scorn and rage, *Quid est Imperatori cum Ecclesia?* reviles the Emperor himself with sawcy and taunting Language, and tells them, that they might give themselves, if they pleased, the pleasure of travelling through the *African* Provinces, but he had taken care to save their Masters Money. And another *Donatus* Bishop of *Bagaia*, when the Commissioners came to his City, gathers together Troops of *Circumcellians* from all Parts, perhaps into a Malt-house, to Assassinate the Commissioners. But they to defend themselves, upon the discovery of the Conspiracy, send for a Party of the Emperor's Forces, some few whereof being upon the Guard, abused and affronted by the Fanatick Rabble, that were Assembled in great Numbers, acquaint their Fellow-Soldiers with the Indignity, who, do what their Officers could, fall upon them with great fury, kill some and disperse the rest. And now the *Donatists* had the beloved clamour of all Schismaticks to cry out Per-

Y 4

secu-

secution, only because some of them per-
 rish'd in a Tumult of their own raising.
 But it is no matter who began the fray,
 the People are to be incens'd against
 the Catholiques with the Blood of their
 Party. And therefore what Tragical
 Stories do we ever after, from this slight
 Occasion, hear of the *Macarian Times*,
 as if this one Accident, by which they
 punish'd themselves, had exceeded the
 Cruelty of the Ten Persecutions. But
 in short, the Commissioners finding there
 was no Peace to be settled in *Africa*,
 whilst *Donatus* and his Associates remain-
 ed in it, they sent them all into Banish-
 ment, and so they continued till the
 time of *Julian* the Apostate; but in the
 mean time the Ring-leaders being remo-
 ved out of the way, the People were
 soon at quiet, and betook themselves to
 to their Callings, and kept their Parish-
 Churches. And upon this a Council
 was called by *Gratus* Arch-Bishop of the
 Catholique Communion at *Carthage*, to
 give God thanks for their Deliverance,
 and to take care for the effectual settle-
 ment of the Peace of the Church, that
 lasted till the *Donatists* broke loose under

*Quib. succedens Juli-
 anus desertor Chrsti*

Julian. Who de-
 signing by all ways
 to destroy Christi-
 anity

thought nothing so
 effectual to that
 end, as to encourage
 Schisms and Divi-
 sions, and destroy
 the Discipline and
 Unity of the Church;
 and therefore when
 this Schism was al-
 most extinguish'd by
 the care of *Constan-
 tine* and his Sons,
 he took as much
 care by granting li-
 berty to the *Don-
 atists* to blow it up
 into a greater flame.

*Et inimicus, Suppli-
 cantibus vestris Ro-
 gatiano Et Pontio,
 libertatem parti Do-
 nati permisit; deni-
 que tunc reddidit
 Basilicas Hæreticis,
 quando Tempia Dæ-
 moniis: eo modo pu-
 tans Christianum no-
 men posse perire de
 terris, si unitati Ec-
 clesiæ, de quâ lapsus
 fuerat, invideret, Et
 Sacrilegas dissensio-
 nes liberas esse per-
 mitteret.*

And yet they on the other side were
 forward enough to prevent the Apostates
 Zeal, by presenting him with a flatter-
 ing address, so that though the other day
 under Christian Emperours, their word
 was, *Quid Imperatori cum Ecclesiâ*; now
 under an Apostate, a mortal and avowed
 Enemy to Christianity, the whole Disci-
 pline of the Church is to be submitted to
 his disposal, and sacrificed to his malice;
 and he accordingly finding what eager
 Zeal they had to disturb the Peace of the
 Church, gives them all the liberty that
 they can desire, and permits them to re-
 build

build their Conventicles, at the same time that he opened the Idol Temples, and (as *Optatus* upbraids them) let them and the Devil loose together. And that is another ill quality of all Schismaticks, that they care not what becomes of the common Christianity, so the Faction thrives. This Rescript of *Julian* to the *Donatists* is lost, but it seems it was so very scandalous, that the Emperour *Honorius* many years after, when he was resolved upon their Extirpation, caused it to be publisht in all places, to let the People see the baseness and perverseness of the Faction. But they now finding that they had got the upper hand of the Catholics, though by the malice of this Apostate Emperour, are not satisfied with their own liberty, but fall foul upon the Catholics, and treat them with all manner of outrage and cruelty, pull down their Churches, murder their Priests at the Altar, overthrow the Altars themselves, and cast their Idolatrous Eucharist (as they call'd it) to the Dogs, dig the Catholics out of their Graves, with many more outrages, that may be seen in *Optatus* his second and sixth Books. And so they go on to keep up the Faction by Tumults and Stories, and making challenges of Disputes, and then

then declining them, and the like methods of Schism till the death of *Donatus*, about the year 368, and the fifth of *Valentinian* and *Valens*.

To *Donatus* succeeds *Parmenianus*, who publishes a vehement Book against the Catholics, stuff with the old Fables of *Felix*, *Cæcilian*, and the *Macarian* Persecution; for as they first founded their Schism upon a Lye, so they resolv'd to continue it to the last, and perhaps by this time they were in good earnest, and had lyed so long, till they at length believed themselves, or at least (as *Optatus* tells him) they were utterly ignorant of the History of the Schism, and to that end he wrote his Books to rebuke all their wild Fictions by publick Records, and Imperial Rescripts. But to what purpose do you tell the Common People of legal Proceedings? No Argument so prevalent with them, as a blind Story in a Corner, tagg'd with dirty Reflections upon the Government. And therefore notwithstanding all these checks, the Ring-leaders of the Faction Lye on, though we hear little of them till the tenth year of the same Reign, *Anno Domini* 373, when *Valentinian* publisht a Rescript against their Re-baptising; which was renewed by *Gratian*
four

four years after, in the year Three hundred Seventy seven.

§. V. The next news that we hear of them (and it is very strange, that we heard it no sooner) is, That they fall out among themselves, divide and subdivide into new Factions and Animosities. For upon the death of *Parmenian* they cannot agree upon a Successor, some are for *Maximianus*, and some for *Primianus*, and so both being chosen, they divide Communion, make Decrees, and throw out Anathema's against each other, and which is most of all disingenuous, stir up the Civil Magistrate to put the same Imperial Laws, that were made against themselves, in Execution against their Brethren : And what but other day was Tyranny and Persecution in the Catholicks, is in themselves Law and Justice. And so they go on to load one another with all the foul Stories and ill Language, that they were wont to bestow upon the Catholiques, and their Sentences of Excommunication are more fierce and heavy, than any that were ever denounced by any other party of Christians. Some were fatal, cutting off all power of Absolution : The most gentle were limited to a certain time, after

after which the Decree was irrecoverably pass'd upon them, and so they proceeded cursing and damning each other, till every Sect spawn'd a new Litter of Vipers to eat out its own Bowels. And so they crumbled on, till they had made the Church no bigger than it was at first, a small grain of Mustard Seed : For every Party confin'd the Kingdom of Heaven to its Conventicle. This dividing humour of theirs is very well described by *St. Austin*. *The Faction of Donatus is crumbled into very small parcels, all which little particles condemn this much greater part of Primianus for allowing the Baptism of the Maximianists. And every part eagerly contends, that they alone retain the true Baptism, and that there is no other any where, neither in all the World, over which the Catholick Church is spread, nor in the larger nor*

Pars Donati in multa minutissima frusta conscissa est, quæ omnes minutæ particulae hanc unam multò grandiore, in qua Primianus est, de recepto Maximianistarum Baptismo reprehendunt ; & singulae conantur asserere, apud se tantummodo verum baptismum remansisse, nec omnino esse alibi, neque in toto Orbe Terrarum, quâ Ecclesiâ Catholica

Catholica expanditur, nec in ipsa grandiore parte Donati, nec in cæteris, præter se unam, in minutissimis partibus. *the lesser parts of the Faction of Donatus, but in themselves alone that are least of all.*

But as fierce as they were against each other, they were always one united Body against the Catholique Church, and upon all occasions of Disturbance or Sedition in the State, they were a form'd Body against the Government, as will appear by numberless Instances in the next Reign of *Arcadius* and *Honorius*, under whom they vented their utmost fury, and they on the other side, resolved to quell and break them, and at last by strict Laws diligently executed, so took down their stomach, and their stubbornness, that the Faction dwindled into an inconsiderable rout, and was never able to attempt any disturbance either in Church or State. They being under no greater restraint in the time of *Theodosius* the Great, then the forfeiture of Ten Pounds, and the Execution of that Law being either stifled or hamper'd by the Emperors Officers, (that commonly divert such Mulcts to their own gain, and the damage of the Prosecutor) grew so bold in their out-rage against the Catholicks,

tholicks, as to offer violence to their Clergy at Divine Service, which insufferable Indignity the young Emperors *Arcadius* and *Honorius* resented with that just indignation, as to publish a Rescript in the year 398; to *Theodorus* Prefect of *Africk*, requiring him to bring such Offenders to Capital Punishments, and if they at any time offer'd to make any Tumultuary resistance, not to stand upon forms of Law, but to fall upon them with the Military Power. And this Law, as severe as it may appear, was but seasonable and indeed necessary, as *St. Austin* tells the *Donatists*, when they complain of Severi-

ty. You have no reason to complain of us; for the Gentleness of the Catholicks had always forbore the Execution of such Laws, had not your own Preachers with their Circumcellians by their barbarous Cruelties and Outrages against us, made them necessary for our own security. For be-

De nobis ergo quod queramini, non habetis; etenim Ecclesiæ Catholicæ mansuetudo etiam ab his Imperatorum jussionibus omnino conquieverat, nisi vestri Clerici & Circumcelliones per suas immanissimas improbitates, furiosaq; violentias quietem nostram perturbantes atque vastantes, *Epist. 68. ad Johannem.*

tes, hæc in vos re-
coli & moveri co-
egissent. Nam pri-
usquam recentiores
leges istæ, de qui-
bus modò querimi-
ni, venissent in *Afri-
cam*, insidias in iti-
neribus nostris Epif-
copis tetenderunt,
conclericos nostros
plagis immanissimis
quassaverunt, Laicis
quoque & plagas gravissimas inflixerunt,
& intulerunt eorum *Ædificiis* incen-
dia, &c.

With great numbers more of particu-
lar Out-rages, that he recites there, and
up and down his other Writings, as the
murder of *Restitutus* and *Innocentius*
Presbyters of *Hippo*, putting out the
Eyes of some, cutting off the hands, and
pulling out the Tongues of others. And
as for St. *Austin* himself, they continual-
ly watched for his life, and exhorted the
People to kill him as they would a Wolf,
to preserve the Flock, and assure them
that God would forgive all their Sins,
how great soever, for so good a piece of
Service. And this they did to him in
requital of all his kindness towards them,
who

*fore those late Laws;
of which you com-
plain, came into A-
frica, they waylaid
our Bishops upon the
Road, they beat our
Clergy most barba-
rously, put intolerable
abuses upon the
Laicks, fired our
Houses & our Chur-
ches.*

who all along interceded with the Go-
vernors to spare their lives, till at last
being convinced by Experience that they
abused all mercy, and would be reduced
by nothing but the greatest Severity, he
changed his mind, as he declares in his
Epistle to *Vincentius*, in which he ex-
cellently discourses the necessity of the
thing, that the Civil Magistrate should
restrain the stubborn with Penal Laws,

Epist. 48.

About this time happened the War
with *Gildo* the *African* Rebel, a Man in-
finitely Debauch'd, and barbarous in
his Manners, and a bitter Enemy to
Christianity; with him the *Donatists* and
Circumcellians join, and serve in his Re-
bellion against the Emperor, according
to the constant practice of all Schisma-
ticks, whenever there is an opportunity
to turn Rebels. And particularly there
was one *Optatus*, a Bishop of the Party,
so remarkable in the Army for fighting
and forwardness, that he was surnamed
Gildonianus, and after ten years Rebel-
lion lost his life in the Service. But
when *Gildo* was at length overcome, the
Donatists bared nothing of their wonted
insolence, and the Emperor *Honorius*
(to whose particular Government *Afri-
ca* appertained) being incensed with
continual complaints of their disorders,
resolves

resolves by any severity to break the Faction. And first he exposes their knavery to all the Christian World, by which he hoped at least to take down their confidence, and preserve the People from being any more deluded by their fair pretences. And therefore in the year 400 he sends forth the forementioned Decree to his Præfect in *Africk*, to be publish'd in all places concerning the Transactions of the *Donatists* with *Julian*, and his Rescript on their behalf, that thereby the World might see the constancy of the Catholics to their Principles, and the falshood and treachery of the *Donatists* to their Religion. And this was done, either upon one or both of these Occasions, either as *Baronius* most probably thinks, that the *Donatists* persisting in their old Clamours, as *Petilian* had lately done, against the Catholics,

Quid autem vobis est cum Regibus seculi, quos nunquam Christianitas nisi invadens sensit.

For instigating the Civil Magistrate against them, who had nothing to do with the Church or Religion.

Upon which pretence, the Emperor thought good to rebuke their Confidence, by exposing their flatteries and foul tamperings with *Julian*,

Man, and joining with an Apostate in his design to overthrow Christianity. Or else, as *Gothofred* conjectures, *Honorius* enacting such severe Laws against the *Donatists*, they upbraided his Cruelty with the Clemency of *Julian*, as if they found more mercy from *Julian*, though an Enemy, an Heathen, and an Apostate, than from a Christian and Catholic Prince. And therefore *Honorius* lets the World know the Mystery of the kindness between them and *Julian*, and by what base flattery, and dirty Arts, and dishonest Treachery they had insinuated themselves into his favour.

And the Year following the Church seem'd to imitate the Emperor's Design, of convincing them by meer shame, and reducing them by the foulness of their own Actions: for among divers other Methods proposed for the settlement of the Church, this Device is at last pitch'd upon, to send to all the Judges and Governors of Provinces, who had the command and keeping of all publick Records, that they would search out all the Acts, by which the prevailing Party of the *Donatists* cut off the *Maximinianists* from their Communion, and after that restored them to it again. After which they send Ambassadors

Concil. Afric. cap. 36.

bassadors to the severall Churches of the Donatists, to inform the People what a nothing it is that their Leaders have to say against the Catholick Church; but chiefly to make it evident by all the Records of Court, how they treated the *Maximinianists* in their sub-separation,

Ubi eis divinitus demonstratur, si attendere velint, tam iniquè tunc illos ab Ecclesiæ unitate præcisos, quàm iniquè nunc clamant à se Maximianistas schisma fecisse: ex quorum tamen numero, quos jam plenarii Concilii sui Auctoritate damnaverant, in suis honoribus denùo receperunt; et baptismum, vel quem damnati et exclusi dederant, acceptaverunt. Ut videant quàm stulto corde resistant paci Ecclesiæ toto orbe diffusæ,

from whence, say they, will be pointed out, as it were by an Hand from Heaven, that they first depakted from the Unity of the Church, upon as unreasonable Grounds, as they now clamor that the Maximinianists made a Schism from themselves. Of whom yet they have received divers to Communion without new Baptism. That so they may see how absurdly they oppose the peace of the universal Church, when they do that for the Pars Donati, without thinking themselves

selves polluted by their Communion for which they condemn us and the whole Catholick Church, as polluted by the Communion of those that they have for a long time accused; but could never yet convince of any Crime.

cum ista faciant pro parte Donati; neque se istorum, quos ita receperunt, communionem propter intuitum pacis contaminari dicant: et nos condemnent, id est, Ecclesiam Catholicam, etiam in extremis terrarum partibus constitu-

tam, per eorum communionem inquinatam, quos tunc accusantes, convincere nequiverunt.

And this was a choquing Argument, either that they ought not to have received the *Maximinianists* for peace sake, or that for the same reason they ought to enter into a Treaty of Peace with the whole Christian World. And accordingly in a greater Council the year following, every Bishop is ordered to treat with the Leaders of the *Donatists* in their own Dioceses; But all in vain, for they return them no other Answer, then Scorn and foul Language. Such was their Pride and Petulancy, that it barr'd up their Minds against all Conviction: particularly *Passidius* undertaking *Crispinus* a leading Man

of the Faction, after all his Pains is thrown off with this slight and haughty Answer. *Hanc responsonem meam patriarchali sermone desinio : Recedant à me impii, vias eorum nolle nolo.* ' This is my peremptory Answer to all your Talk, that the People of God ought not to have any Entercourse, or enter into any Conference with the Wicked. And in stead of fair Proceedings, in a few days after they beset his House, break in upon him, and beat him, the Riot is taken notice of by the Pro-consul, and the Ring-leader fin'd ten Pounds, that yet was remitted at the Intercession of *Possidius*. But the Schismatick is so haughty, that he will not accept of the Kindness, and so appeals to the Emperors, and is by them condemn'd, as falling under the Law enacted by their Father *Theodosius* the Great, in the

De Heret.
lib. 2. 21.

Year 392, against all Hereticks or Recusants of what Sect soever, that whoever of them gave or received Holy Orders, should be fin'd ten Pounds *toties quoties*, and wherever they kept a Conventicle, the house should be confiscated to the Emperor; but if the Owner of the House were not privy to it, that then the Tenant should be fin'd the ten Pounds, and if he were a Servant, or so poor that he could not pay it, he was to be Whipt and

Trans-

Transported. This Law was applyed by *Honorius* to the *Donatists*, which they pleaded was not intended against them, because they were only accounted Schismatics and not Hereticks. No, says the Emperor, I and my Laws will allow of no such Tricks and Distinctions, whoever is divided from the Catholick Church, upon what Pretence soever, we are not concern'd to inquire, he is to us a Recusant and an Heretick, his Crime is not adhering to this or that Party, but his division from us. And though the Fathers of the *African* Council interceded with the Emperor, that the Law might be applyed only to such *Donatists*, as were convicted of any actual Violence or Sedition, and that others, that were peaceable, might not be punish't meerly for their Opinion. Yet the Emperor look't upon the very siding with a seditious Party, to be Sedition it self, and therefore Commands it to be strictly and universally put in Execution. Especially having been incens'd by their late disorders in divers other Places, driving Bishops from their Sees, and particularly the horrible Murder of *Maximian* Bishop of *Bagaia*, and this says St. *Austin* made our Intercession ineffectual. *Jam enim lex fuerat promulgata ut tantæ Immanitatis*

Y 4

Here-

Heresis donatistarum, cui crudelius patci videbatur, quam ipsa seviebat, non tantum violenta esse, sed omnino esse, non sineretur impune. 'That is, because he had now resolved upon this Law, that a Sect of so much Barbarity, whom to tolerate were a greater cruelty than the worst that they themselves could commit, should not only not be suffer'd in their Violence, but not be suffer'd to be at all. But yet for all this, many of the Schismatics persist in their Pride and Stubbornness, scorn to enter into any Conference with the wicked, and threaten the Catholicks with their lives, if they ever offer'd to undeceive their People.

Recedite a plebibus nostris, si non vultis ut interficiamus vos. 'Either leave our People or your own Lives. But because they rebaptised all Converts to their Party, the Emperor resolved to bar up that passage, and therefore Enacts a Law against Rebaptising under so many and so severe Penalties, as soon broke the whole Faction. viz. Forfeiture of Estate, Outlawry, Banishment, Incapacity of making a Will, or receiving a Legacy. And strictly commands his Governors and Officers every where to put it in severe Execution under threatening of the severest Penalties upon themselves. This

Augst. E.
pist. 166.

Ne sanctum
Baptisma
iteretur,
leg. 4.

strong Physick quickly purged away the ill humour, and restored the Church after all its distractions to a great measure of Peace and Unity. Inasmuch that great numbers of the *Circumcellians* themselves (as *St. Austin* tells us) were reduced to Sobriety, and here it is that he professes that though hitherto he had been an enemy to all Penal Laws in matters of Religion, yet now he was quite baffled out of that Opinion, not so much by Arguments as Examples, and particularly of his own City; that though it had been almost swallowed up with the Faction, yet it was now so reduced to the Catholick Unity, by the fear of these Imperial Laws, that in a short time it so universally detested the Schism, as if it had never had any footing or entertainment there. How many (says he) that were engaged in the Party by Education, and never consider'd upon what grounds they separated from the Church, being awakened by these Laws to examine into the Nature of the Schism, found nothing of moment enough in it, for which they should expose themselves to so great Damages, these were without difficulty made Catholicks. How many that only followed the Authority of their Guides, and understood not the difference between the Church

Epist. 48.

Church and the Donatists : How many that had been abused with Stories and false Reports of the Catholicks; how many that thought it indifferent with which Party they sided, give God and the Emperor thanks for frightening them out of their sloath and stupidity? And that (says he) is the most proper use of Penal Laws to awaken men to a sight of their Error, in which they have been detain'd by meer carelesness or wantonness, and in all Schisms an affected Petulancy is ever the strongest Ingredient. And so things continued in a quiet posture till the death of *Stilicho* in the year 408, but upon that the Heathens and Donatists (that were all along one Party against the Catholicks) raise a Report that the

August. Ep. 129 ad O-limpium Comitem, A Courtier whom he informs of the whole Business.

De Hereticis lib. 43.

Laws against them were made, and contrived, purely by the design of *Stilicho*, without the Emperors consent, and therefore as if their Authority had dyed together with their Author, they break out into their old Out-rages against the Catholicks. Which coming to the Emperors knowledge, he immediately dispatches a Rescript to *Curtius* the Prefect of *Rome*, declaring that it was his Imperial Will that all the Laws against the Donatists, Heathens, and Hereticks should continue in full force, strictly requiring him and all

all his Officers, to put them in effectual Execution. And this was followed by another Rescript to *Donatus* Prefect of *Africa*, who obey'd it with that rigour, that *St. Austin* was forced out of his meer good nature to write to him to spare their lives. *Ex occasione terribilium Judicium ac legum ne æterni judicii pœnas incident, corrigi eos cupimus non necari, nec disciplinam circa eos negligi volumus, nec suppliciis, quibus digni sunt exerceri. Sic ergo eorum peccata compesce, ut sint quos pœniteat peccavisse. Quæsumus igitur ut cum Ecclesiæ causas audis, quamlibet nefariis injuriis appetitam vel afflictam esse cognoveris, potestatem occidendi te habere obliviscaris.* Upon occasion of the dreadful Laws and Executions against them, we cannot but desire, lest they should fall into everlasting punishment, that they may be chastised but not kill'd, that Discipline may be exercised upon them, but that they may not be punish't with the utmost Justice that they deserve, and therefore so correct their sins, that they may not be past the State of Repentance. And we beseech you that when you hear the causes of the Church, though you will find it assaulted and oppressed with intolerable injuries, forget then that you have the power of life

Epist. 127.

life and death. But still the Emperour proceeds with more vigour, and the year following enjoins the strict Execution of these Laws to his Officers, and Judges, under severe Penalties to themselves of loss of Place, Fines, and Banishment, with a farther reserve of his displeasure. And here he comes so close to the Schismatics, as not only to banish their Preachers, but every one that shall but talk or dispute in behalf of the Schism. And so by this means things continued quiet once more, till the Invasion of the Empire, and sacking of *Rome* by the *Goths*, when *Attalus* sent an Army against *Heraclian* the Præfect for the Conquest of *Africa*, and if he had Succeeded in it, he had been compleat Master of the Western Empire. In this streight, either for fear that they should join with the Enemy, or because they grew insolent in their demands, as they did to *Constantine* in the time of the *Licinian* War, the Emperour grants them liberty of Conscience for some time. But being quit of the danger by the speedy Overthrow of the *Goths* in *Africa*, he immediately dispatches a Rescript at the Request of the *African* Fathers, who were already highly sensible of the mischiefs of this Liberty, to the same Proconsul to reverse his

his former Decree, that had been extorted from him by the necessity of the times; and now probably being afresh incensed by their sawcy behaviour in his affliction, makes the Schism itself Capital, or to be punished *pæna & proscriptiois & sanguinis*. For before this time none were to be put to death, but those that had deserved it by their Tumults, Disorders, and Insurrections, but now the very frequenting their Meetings was forbidden under no less Penalty.

§. V.I. But being now resolved to put an end to the trouble that they had given him from the beginning of his Reign, he resolved in the first place to try if it were possible to do any good upon them, by a friendly Conference, which (as himself says) he did by the perswasion of the *African* Bishops, and it was chiefly devised by St. *Austin* to undeceive the People. For their Leaders still persisted to abuse them with old Tales and Stories, notwithstanding that they had been so shamefully exposed an hundred years since; but that was beyond the memory, and by consequence the knowledge of the People, and therefore St. *Austin* concluded that

that the most effectual way to reduce them, was to let the People know what was done in *Constantine's* time, in the Synods of *Rome*, and *Arles*, and before the Emperour himself at *Milan*, and the shameful discoveries of their Forgeries about *Cæcilian* and *Felix* of *Aptung*, by *Ingentius* the Notary, and *Nundinarius* the Deacon. And this he doubted not would make them see through the whole Cheat, that had been put upon them from the beginning ; and forever expose the impudence and dishonesty of their Leaders. *Quod verò ante centum ferme annos Majores nostri cum iis [Donatistis] egerant, jam populorum memoria non tenebat ; hæc igitur necessitas compulit ; at saltem Gestis nostrâ Collatione confectis, eorum contunderemus inverecondiam, & reprimeremus Audaciam.* " Seeing it was " beyond the memory of the People, " what was transacted almost an hundred years since with the Schismatics ; necessity compelled us, that " producing the matters of Fact at our " Conference, we should rebuke their " strange boldness and immodesty. To this purpose *Marcellinus*, a Man eminent both for Wisdom, Learning, and Piety, and the same to whom

Augst. lib.
3, contra
Julianum:

whom *St. Austin* peritus. v. more of dedicates his Books his Character in *De Civitate Dei*, *Baldwin's Hist. Col.* though a Secular lat. Carthag. Judge, is sent into *Africa* with a Commission to preside at the Conference, and that he might do, by the Laws and Custom of the Church, because the Controversie was not about either a matter of Faith, or rule of Discipline, but only a matter of Fact. Neither had he the Office of a Judge about that, so much as an Inquisitor ; but was by his Commission only to Examine the publick Records, and that was all that he undertook and perform'd. In *March* in the year 411. he Summons both Parties to meet at *Carthage* in the *June* following, and grants to all *Donatists*, that would obey his Summons, the free use of their Churches, and provides all things necessary or useful for their Journey. The whole number of *Donatist* Bishops, in all 159, enter *Carthage* in a full Body, with all the shews of Pomp and Ostentation, and this being their full strength at that time, it shews how their Party had shrivel'd away under this Emperor's Laws against them. For in their Council at *Bagaia*, where the *Maximinianists* were condemn'd by the

the other *Donatists*, were present four hundred and sixty Bishops, and yet now all their Force cannot make a third part of that number. But when they came to *Carthage*, they would not meet in the usual house of Convocation, that they call'd the Synagogue of Satan, and therefore met in the *Gargilian Baths*. And before they enter'd upon the Conference, the Catholics endeavour to Court them with all manner of Civility and Condescension, if by any means to prevail upon them, to have some sense of the Peace and Unity of the Christian Church. But all in vain, they were resolv'd to persist in their Peevishness, and therefore when they came together, instead of fair and ingenuous Discourse, they only endeavour'd to spin out time with trifling and pettifogging Tricks. For whereas the Catholics first propounded for quicker dispatch, to separate the particular matter of Fact, concerning *Cæcilian's* being Ordain'd by a Traditor from the general matter of Right, concerning their present Separation from the Church. Because that was only Personal, and carried nothing in it that concern'd the cause of the Church it self, at so great a distance of time; and therefore they would freely grant, tho

nothing

nothing could be more false, that *Cæcilian* and *Felix* were guilty of all their Indictment: But that being granted, they affirm'd that it was no sufficient reason for them at that time of the day, to separate themselves from the Catholic Church, though it had so many years past Communicated with them. But the *Donatists* resolve to insist upon the old Nags-head-story, and wholly baulk the matter of Right; for here they knew that they could wrangle and amuse the People, and this was not only their standing Artifice, but as *Baldwin* observes, 'tis the last shift of all Schismatiques, when they are baffled, to throw dirt. So *Petilian* served St. *Austin*; so the *Pelagians*; so the *Manichees*; but he would not be drawn from his Cause by such foolish diversions, and still answer'd them all, *Quod ad mores nostros* Lib. 3.
pertinet, quemadmodum vivamus in promp-
tu est eis, cum quibus vivimus, nunc de contra *Flavianum.*
Catholico agitur Dogmate, &c. As for my Life and Conversation, it is known to those with whom I live, but our business is about Christian Truth; that is the cause, not I; if you have any thing against me, in God's Name Indict me according to Law, but otherwise it is a base and helpless shift, when you

Z.

are

are Convicted by Argument, to be-
 take your selves to idle Tales and
 Slanders, for that is the last Machine
 of all Hereticks. And therefore 'tis
 no wonder that the Schismatics stuck
 so long at this point, for to Persons of
 that Kidney, Calumny is much dearer
 then their Opinion. And it was a long
 while before *Marcellinus* with all his
 Art and Temper, could bring them out
 of this Hold, but being at last forced
 out of it, they in the next place wran-
 gle about matters, that they pleaded
 ought to be preliminary to the Confe-
 rence : And first they cavill'd and ex-
 cepted against the time, viz. That the
 time limited by the Emperour's Summons
 was past ; to which cavil they are An-
 swer'd, That the Meeting was adjourn'd
 to the present time by their own Con-
 sent. Then they except against *Marcel-
 linus*, and the Form of proceeding, viz.
 That Ecclesiastical matters ought not to
 be determin'd after the manner of the
 Secular Courts, but by the Holy Scrip-
 tures. To this *Marcellinus* replies, both
 that he does not take upon himself the
 Office of a Judge, and withal that things
 should be determin'd by the Rule of
 Scripture as they desired. And beside
 this the Catholick Bishops satisfy them
 by

by exhibiting the Injunctions, that they
 had given to those Bishops, that were to
 manage the Conference, that they had
 taken sufficient care of that matter. But
 then this the *Donatists* turn'd into a new
 Cavil, that they would not trust their
 Cause to a few Mens management, but
 would be all Speakers, which they knew
 could not be done in so great a Multi-
 tude, without turning the whole business
 into Tumult and Confusion. And there-
 fore it is with much ado over-ruled,
 that Seven of each Party should manage
 the Conference, of whom *St. Austin* and
Petilian were the chief of each side. But
 in the next place the Mandate of the
 Catholicks to their Commissioners being
 signed by 286 Bishops, the *Donatists* ob-
 ject that there were not so many pre-
 sent, and pretend that to encrease the
 number they had set down false names;
 and therefore require that every Bishop
 should answer to his own name. But
 all this trifling being at last past through,
Marcellinus with Hat in hand, desires
 the Company that they would be plea-
 sed to take their Seats, but the *Donatists*
 insolently refuse his Civility, grumbling
 out among themselves that of the Psal-
 mist, *Odi Ecclesiam Malignantium & cum
 impiis non sedabo.* Then the Instrument

of the *Donatists* to their Commissioners is read, which consists all of Accusation against the Catholiques, both as Traditors and Persecutors; and here they are immediately snapt in their own Snare, having subscribed many Names to it of Men that were not in Being, and among the rest of one, that upon the discovery they now pretended dyed on the way, though before they had declared, that it was drawn up after they came to *Carthage*, and that was all the Event of the first days Conference, that they ensnared themselves in two or three grand Falshoods. The second Conference was spent in the same trifles and cavils with the first, and so came to nothing. But at the third Meeting *Marcellinus* keeps them close to the point, and after long struggling and much patience with them, causes all the Records relating to the whole matter to be read, especially concerning the Cause of *Cæcilian* and *Felix* of *Aptung*. And here the *Donatists* were quite undone at the first shock, and had no shift, to escape, only to the Absolution of *Cæcilian* by *Melchιάdes* they have the Impudence now to say, that *Melchιάdes* himself was a Traditor. Which as it was a new lye invented at so great a distance of time, so was it utterly ground-

less;

less, and without any pretence of Authority then only their own Report, and therefore could not pass. In short, the Schismaticks having nothing to except against the unquestionable Evidence of publick Records, but repeating the same Cavils and Calumnies, the Verdict is given against them, and themselves are brought to subscribe the truth of all the Acts of the Conference, as we now have them, which otherwise they would afterward have pleaded to be false, so that they had now no shift left but their old one, to complain of the Partiality of *Marcellinus*. Unless it were to Appeal from the Emperor (to whom themselves first appealed) to the Scriptures. Thus upon this shameful overthrow *Primianus* a chief Mart among them cries out, *Illi portant multorum Imperatorum Sacras, nos sola portamus Evangelia*. And they were then the two Tribes that continued Loyal to the true Religion, whilst the Catholicks, by whom they were so much over-voted, were the other Ten Tribes that followed *Jerobam* into his Idolatry. But so it was that things were managed with that clearness of Conviction, that though the Ring-leaders went on in their old stubbornness, yet the greatest part of the People, hereby under-

Z 3, standing

standing the true merits of the Cause, forsook them forever; and as *St. Austin* says, great Numbers of the *Circumcellians* return'd to their Callings and Parish Churches, and as for the Number of the more sober People of all States and Conditions that were reduced, he says it was so great that it was not to be numbred. And to settle the business more effectually *St. Austin* prevails with *Marcellinus* to publish the Acts of the Conference, the truth whereof was subscribed by both Parties, that all the World after that might be satisfied of the foulness and disingenuity of the Schismatics: And then the *African Bishops* agree among themselves for keeping up the memory of the thing fresh against them, to have them publicly read in all Churches on the last Sunday in *Leut.* And because the Acts themselves were too long for the People, *St. Austin* drew up his *Breviculum* for that use.

Upon this great overthrow the Emperor resolves to push on the Victory, and immediately publisht such a severe Rescript against the Party; that soon broke their Obstinacy and vanquish't the Schism, strictly commanding them to return to the Catholick Church, first un-

der the Penalty of an high Fine according to every mans Estate and Quality; Secondly, Inflicting the same punishments upon all Persons that should conceal them; Thirdly, Requiring all diligence in all Officers to discover them; Fourthly, If notwithstanding they continued stubborn, all their Goods were to be seized and sold. Fifthly, All Landlords and Masters are to see that their Servants and Tenants conform to the Catholick Church under the same Penalties. Sixthly, All their Preachers are to be banisht into distant places. *Clerici vero ministrique eorum ac perniciosissimi sacerdotales ablati de Africano solo, quod ritu sacrilego polluerunt, in exilium viritum ad singulas quasque regiones sub idonea prosecutione mittantur.* And lastly, Their Churches and all Profits and Revenues belonging to them, are to be delivered up to the Catholicks. Here are all the severities that can be inflicted except death it self, for though the Emperor had threatned them with that immediately after his Conquest of the *Barbarians*, upon some rude Provocation, that they had given him in his distress, yet now in his cooler and more deliberate thoughts, he resolves to spare their blood, but resolves to spare nothing else. And what milder course

could be taken with such men, that out of meer extravagance, and wantonness, had put off all sense of their natural humanity. And so upon this, those few that would not be reduced, betook themselves to the Fields and the Woods, and wandred up and down the Country in Arm'd Troops, doing all manner of mischief and violence in all places, usually having one of their Teachers for the Captain of each Rout, such an one was *Macrobius* one of their Bishops; that *St. Austin* says, roved up and down in his Neighbourhood, *Stipatus cuneis perditorum utriusque sexus*, guarded or followed with Troops of desperate People of both Sexes.

But it hap'ned that the year following, *Heraclian*, the Emperor's Vice-Roy in *Africk* that had done the good service to Conquer the *Goths*, breaks out into Rebellion, and Invades *Italy* with the greatest Navy that perhaps ever was, consisting of 3700 Ships, whereas *Xerxes* his so famed Navy had no more then 1200. But he being surpris'd and overthrown by *Marinus* at his first landing, and by him pursu'd into *Africk*, the Donatists inform *Marinus* at his very first coming, that *Marcellinus* was one of those that had sided with *Heraclian* in the Rebellion,

on, him therefore in his rage, or hast, or upon some worse

account he puts to death among the other Rebels, upon which instead of a Triumph for so great a Victory, he

is immediately commanded home, put out of all employment, banisht the Emperor's presence, and only not put to death because of his late great service. Now the design of these wicked Donatists in murthering *Marcellinus* was not only to be revenged of him for his acting in the Conference, but to kill the credit of his Acts, because all the Acts of Rebels were by the *Roman* Law null and void, and therefore as the Emperor had already null'd the Acts of *Heraclian* upon his Rebellion, so they hoped that the Acts of *Marcellinus* who was in the same case should undergo the same Fate. But the Emperor on the contrary writes to *Julianus* his Pro-Consul, to lay them carefully up among the publick Records, that they might be secure from being ever imbezeld, and not only so, but he renews his former severe Law with the addition of some new Penalties, and, more then that, though he had damn'd all the other Acts

Quem Marinus, incertum an zelo stimulus, an auro corruptus, occidit. O. rof. lib. 7.

De Haret. l. 55.

Ibid. l. 54.

of

of Government under *Heracian*, such was his just fury against these treacherous and bloody Saints, that he renews the Rescript of punishing them with death, that he had sent in his rage to *Heracian* in the year 311, and that is the reason why this Law bears *Heracian's* name, though it were not publisht till after his death. Though it was never put in Execution, but the other of banishing the Preachers was vigorously prosecuted, and the Emperor sent *Dulcitius* into *Africa* with a new Office for that very purpose, viz. Of Executor of the Rescript against the Donatists, that was his whole and sole Commission. And he pursued it so effectually, that about thirty of their Leaders finding that there was no way left of being conceal'd, and resolving neither to quit their Churches nor go into Banishment, agree to murder themselves and so dye Martyrs, and some of them burnt themselves with that mad resolution, as put *Dulcitius* to a stand, who therefore out of meer tenderness writes to *St. Austin* to know what he would advise him to do with such desperate people. And he though he had ever been importunate to save their lives, now returns this frank Answer, That it is no great matter if the small handfull of *Banditi*, who put the whole

whole World into disorder, perish by their own hands, and when they are gone, the World will be at quiet. And so ended this boisterous Schism that had wasted the Church of *Africa*, for more then an hundred years. For *Baldwin* and *Baronius* place the Ordination of Chaplain *Majorinus*, from whence the Schism commences, in the year 306, but *Valesius* more truly in the year 311, and it was in the year 414, in which they are rooted out of *Africa* by *Dulcitius*. And though some small scatterings of it continued many years after, even to the time of *Gregory* the Great, as we find by some of his Epistles, which was near 200 years after this time, yet after this time it was never considerable, and we hear very little of them, either in the Records of the Church or the Imperial Laws. They are but once mentioned in a Law of *Theodosius* the next Emperour, but then it is in a List of the whole Rout of Hereticks that ever were, in which the same Penalties are inflicted upon all, that were Executed by *Honorius* against the Donatists. And it is observable that the Imperial Laws ever after followed the same method, being convinced of its necessity by the experience of the thing it self, so that though the Coercive Power of the Prince

Prince in abetting the Church had been own'd and used all along; yet it seems not to have been thoroughly understood, till after this experiment of *Honorius* upon the Donatists. And thus have I shewn in this one Instance the natural Progress of Schism, *How little Leaven leaveneth the whole Lump*; so that a National Madness may be no more at bottom than a Malt-house Conspiracy; thirty or forty ill-natur'd men put all *Africk* into a distraction for above one hundred years; and when they were removed out of the way, those many thousands that were drawn in to follow their Frenzy, were restored to their natural sense and sobriety. So that if as small a number as those few, that were so desperate as to destroy themselves at last, had been banish'd at first, all that trouble that this Schism gave the Empire, had been certainly prevented, and that is all that any Prince can gain by his kindness to such men; that if he will not punish them at first, they themselves will force him to do it at last.

§. VII. As for the *Arian Controversie*, though it were at first but a private dispute in the School of *Alexandria* (that was then the only Christian University in

in the World) yet it soon over-ran the whole body of the Christian Church, if we may believe *St. Jerom*, who speaks thus of it, *Arius in Alexandria una scintilla fuit, sed quia non statim oppressa est, totum Orbem ejus flamma populata est.* Ad Galat. 15. And indeed it spread so suddenly, that its motion was not so much like Fire as Lightning, all the World was all in a flame in an instant. Καὶ ἀνέπτεται ὅλη ἡ γῆ. L. 1. c. 6. *quæque ἀνέπτεται μὴν πῦρ*, says *Socrates*, from which and the like passages *Sandius* Hist. Eccl. l. 2. according to his usual dullness and ingenuity infers, that the whole World was become *Arian*, and indeed *St. Jerom* gives some countenance to it, by his lavish expression of *totus orbis*; but he is so full of his *whole Worlds* every where, as proves nothing more than that he was very much taken with the Grandeur of the Phrase; neither does he apply it to the Reign of *Constantine* (as this ignorant pretender to History does) but of *Constantinus*; what strength it then had, we shall see when we come to that time, but under the Reign of *Constantine*, as great Commotions as it occasion'd in the Christian Church, it spread not much farther than some few of the Clergy beside Women, of the Church of *Alexandria*, as will appear by the Progress of the Story, which

which runs in order after this manner, *Arius* and his Complices were upon Conviction Canonically proceeded against and cast out of the Church by their Metropolitan and Provincial Synod, not only for the Heresie of their Opinion, but the scandal and looseness of their lives; as himself informs us in his Epistle to *Alexander* Bishop of *Constantinople*, and beside his Epistles to divers particular Bishops, he signified the Excommunication of the *Arians* by an encyclical Epistle to all the Bishops of the Catholick Church, in the beginning whereof he excellently describes that Unity of Discipline that was then preserv'd in it. 'Whereas we are taught in the Holy Scriptures that the Body of the Catholick Church is one, that thereby we may keep the bond of Peace and Concord the more firmly, it is but agreeable to this that we should communicate with one another by Letters, that all may know what is done by every one, that so we may all suffer and rejoyce together. By which last Phrase the Ancients usually expressed the agreement of Discipline in all Churches, in allusion to *St. Paul's* expression to the Church of *Corinth* in the Case of their incestuous Offenders. This was the Custom of all Churches at that time,

time, though that dull Fanatique *Arian Lib. 2. p. Sandius* represents it as done out of meer design and artifice to assuage the known displeasure of divers Bishops both against himself and his Opinion, and not out of any regard to the Rules of Ecclesiastical Discipline, of which this slovenly Historian seems to have had no sense or knowledge. But this being done, *Arius* instead of submitting to his Ordinary, as he ought to have done by the Laws of the Church, or appealing at least to a greater Council for relief against abuse of Discipline, shelters himself under the Patronage of a Great and Powerful Prelate at that time, *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*, who contrary to all the Laws of the Church, immediately receives him into Communion, which by no means he ought to have done, though *Arius* had been wronged. For if that liberty be once admitted in any Case, it breaks down the Bounds, of all Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, and therefore an Appeal from one Provincial Synod to another was never allowed of in the Primitive Church, but in Cases of Grievance the only Appeal that lay was to greater Synods composed out of several Provinces; so that when *Arius* took Sanctuary under *Eusebius*, and he protected him against the Censure of his own Metropolitan,

litan, and by his own Authority controlled and cancell'd the Acts of another Bishop against his own Presbyter, and endeavour'd to engage the Approbation of the whole Church to his irregular actings; that was apparently setting up an open Schism in the Christian Church. And so *Alexander* represents it in his encyclical Epistle, and loads *Eusebius* with the violation of the Apostolical Canon, viz. the 33d, which enjoyns that no Clergy-man Excommunicate by his own Bishop, be received to Communion by another. But *Eusebius*, being a man of a proud Spirit, regards it not (neither was this his first breach of the Canons, having skip't out of one Bishoprick into another, which is there severely forbidden, and he was the first man, that I know of, who was guilty of that boldness against that Sacred Law of the Church) but instead of desisting from his Schismatical proceedings, endeavours to spread the Schism as far as he could, and his Letters fly abroad every where to engage the Bishops to his Faction, by which means, he being then a great Man and a Favourite of the Emperour, the Court then residing at *Nicomedia*, all the Bishops in the World were in a moment engaged on one side or other (not upon the account of *Arius* but

Apud Theod. l. c. 4.

but *Eusebius* whose Pride and Ambition was the only cause of all this confusion) this so alarms *Constantine*, that he dispatches away his great Favourite *Opus* of *Corduba* with his Letters to *Alexandria*, if it were possible to allay the heats of both Parties. Though *Baronius* is very earnest in it, that *Opus* was first sent by Pope *Silvester*, as his Legate into the East, to *Constantine*, by whom he was arm'd with Letters to *Alexandria*, where he wrought great wonders by vertue of his Legantine Authority. And in this the Cardinal is very vehement, and often repeats it with extraordinary assurance, though there is not the least intimation of it in all the ancient Historians, who make not any mention of the Pope in all this business, but impute the whole transaction to *Constantine's* own care and management. Now the Scope of the Emperors Letters was to perswade and exhort them wholly to lay aside the Controversie as nice, and unnecessary, and not of weight enough to deserve a determination. Though as *Sandius* tells the story, the Emperour lays the blame of all upon the Bishop, but this not only without any Authority, but against the express words of the Letter, that equally blames them both for their too much curiosity about a

Ad ann.
318. N. 88.
Ad ann. 319
N. 22. 26.

pag. 16.

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vain Question, as he calls it. And as for the Letter it self I shrewdly suspect it to have been the contrivance of *Eusebius of Nicomedia*, who was very intimate with the Emperour, and impos'd upon him all along in this whole Affair. I am sure the Scope of the Letter is exactly agreeable with *Eusebius* his whole carriage in this Controversie, which was not to have it determin'd either way, but only silenced as an over curious speculation. I know indeed that he is on all hands represented as a Ring-leader of the Arian Faction, but it is a mistake that has brought confusion upon the whole History, and made the Arian Heresie seem of a much greater extent then it ever was, whereas *Eusebius* and his Party were no less Enemies to the *Arians* then to the Orthodox, and yet it was they that all along made the greatest shew and noise in the Contest. And as for the *Arian* Faction it was wholly suppress'd by the Nicene Council, and all the Tumults that were made after that, are owing to the *Eusebians*, who were as forward as the Orthodox to anathematize the *Arians*, but then they must have the Decree of the Nicene Council revert, and what work they made about it we shall see when we come to the Reign of *Constantius*, all whose Perse-

Persecutions of the Catholicks were meerly raised by these mens wise indiscretion, and had it not been for their unseasonable tampering, prudence, and moderation, the *Arian* Heresie could never have lift up its head more after the Nicene Council. But to return to *Constantine*, who finding the Contest too hot at *Alexandria* to be allayed by the mediation of *Hosius*, and withal the flame too far spread into other Churches to be quench'd by one mans industry, he resolves upon a General Council to compose this and some other spreading Controversies, particularly that concerning the time of *Easter*, which though it had slept ever since Pope *Victor*, began now to raise new heats in several parts of Christendom.

The Council being met at the time and place appointed, he entertains them with an Oration exhorting to Peace and Unity, but neither prescribes nor commands any thing, only desires them to examine things impartially, and by their Authoritative determination of the present Controversies, to settle the Peace of the Church forever, as appears not only from the Tenour of the Speech it self, and the Emperours behaviour in the Council, but from the challenge of St. *Ambrose* to *Valentinian*, *si conferendum de*

*Epist. 32.
Ad Valenti*

fide, sacerdotum debet esse ista cellatio, sicut factum est sub Constantino augustæ memoriæ principe, qui nullas leges ante præmisit, sed liberum dedit iudicium sacerdotibus. 'If there be a consultation about the Faith, that is the work of the Priesthood, as it was managed under the Emperor *Constantine* of Glorious Memory, who prescribed no Laws beforehand, but allowed freedom of judgment to the Bishops. And the Council being fairly left to the free use of that Authority, that they had received from our Saviour, they proceeded as fairly in the Exercise of it.

And in the first place, The Acts of the Council at *Alexandria* against *Arius* are produced, and the interposition of *Eusebius* in his behalf inquired into, whereby it appear'd which side had acted according to the Laws of the Church, and the *Arians* are, after a fair hearing, with very little Debate condemn'd by the Unanimous Votë of the Council, though *Sandius* affirms, from no Authority but his own, that they would not so much as hear *Arius* his Arguments, much less Examine them. But though the Council agreed in the Subscription to the Orthodox Faith, yet the *Eusebians* for a time refused to subscribe to the *Anathema* against the *Arians*, because they

Athanas.
Apol. 2.

Athanas.
Ep. contra
Hæc. Arian.

Soc. l. 1.
c. 14.

they did not think them so bad as they were represented. But here again our hopest *Arian* Historiographer tells us from *Eutychius* and other Oriental Monuments, *i. e.* Modern and Barbarous *Arabick* Pamphlets, that there were above 2000 Bishops present at the Council, and that all excepting only 313 (which was the full number of the Council according to all the true Records) voted for *Arius*, but that *Constantine* himself over-ruled the whole business by violence and force of Arms. And then whereas the Emperor to avert the Decree of the Council, commands the *Arian* Books to be burnt, and especially *Arius* his *Thaleia*, upon pain of death; and banish't some of the *Arians* into *Il-* Sard. l. 2.
p. 20.

liricum; this *Sandius* is not ashamed to say was done by the Authority of the Council it self and withal that the Bishops perswaded the Emperor, who but just now over-awed them by force of Arms, to resign his Empire (silly wretch as he was!) into their hands, and lay down his Sword at their Feet, and that they return'd it back to him only upon condition to defend their Faith. The Council being ended, the Emperour writes to several Churches, particularly that of *Alexandria*, to submit to the de-

termination of the Council, because the unanimous Decree of so many Bishops, could be no less then the Judgment of God himself, in that it cannot be doubted but that the Concord of so many Holy Men was the immediate effect of Divine Inspiration, ὁ γὰρ τοῖς τελαχιστοῖς ἤρεπεν Ἐπισκόποις, ἔδεν ἐσιν ἔπεσον, ἢ τῷ Θεῷ γνώμῃ, μέλιστα γὰρ ὅπου τὸ ἅγιον πνεῦμα, τοῖσιν καὶ πηλικύτων ἀνδρῶν τοῖς διανοίαις ἐγκείμενον, ἢ Θεῶν βέλῃσιν ἐξεφώτισε. And thus had this prophane Heresie been for ever quell'd by the Authority of this Council, had it not been supported by the pretended moderation of the *Eusebians*, and their various carriage in the Debate is the most observable thing in all the Transactions of this Council. The whole Controversie was reduced to the word *Consubstantial*, which the *Eusebians* at first refused to admit, as being no Scripture Word, but without its admission nothing else would satisfy the Council, and good reason they had for it, because to part with that Word after the Controversie was once raised, would have been to give up the cause; for it was unavoidable, that if the Son were not of the same Substance with the Father, he must have been made out of the same Common and Created Sub-

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stance with all other Creatures, and therefore when the Scriptures give him a greater Dignity of Nature then to any created Being, they thereby make him of the same uncreated Substance with the Father, so that they plainly assert his *Consubstantiality*, though they use not the Word. But when the Truth it self was denyed by the *Arian* Hereticks, and the Son of God thrust down into the rank of created Beings, and defined to be a Creature made out of nothing, κτίσμα καὶ ποιήμα ἐξ ἐκ ὄντων, whence they were call'd *ἐκεκόντοι*, it was time for the Church to stop this Heresie, by such a Test as would admit of no Prevarication, which was effectually done by this word, and as cunning and shuffling as the *Arians* were, they were never able to swallow or chew it, and therefore it was but a weak part of the *Eusebians* to shew so much Zeal against the word, when they professed to allow the thing; for if our Saviour were not a meer Creature, he must be of the same uncreated substance with the Father, because there is no middle between created and uncreated Substance; so that whoever denyed his *Consubstantiality* could not avoid the Heresie of *Paulus Samosatenus*, which yet the *Arians* themselves professed to

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desie, for if he were a meer Creature, it is no matter how soon or how late he was created. And therefore *Eusebius* of *Cæsarea*, a wise and understanding Man soon discern'd the folly of this Scruple, for though he at first opposed the word *Consubstantial* in the Council, and tendred a Creed without it, yet upon farther consideration he easily embraced it, because as himself gives an account of it to his Diocess, it signifies the same thing as to say, that he is of the *Father*, which the Orthodox Doctrine teaches, *ὁμοουσιον δὲ εἶναι τῷ πατρὶ τὸ υἱόν, τὸ μηδεμίαν ἐμφέρειαν πρὸς τὸ γέννηται κτισμάτων ἢ υἱὸν τῷ Θεῷ ἐμφαίνειν· μόνη δὲ τῷ πατρὶ τῷ ὁμογενεῖ καὶ ἀπαύ-
του τὸν ἀφομοιωῶν, καὶ μὴ εἶναι ἐξ ἑτέρας πρὸ ὑποστάσεως καὶ ὑποστάσεως, ἀλλ' ἐκ τοῦ πατρὸς.* And therefore he declares that he freely subscribed to it, not only for Peace sake, but that he might not incur the scandal of Heresie. And as for the *Anathema's* against *Arius*, he says, that he readily subscribed them, because they were but a just Sentence against his *Prophane Novelties*, without any Authority from the Scriptures, from whence proceed all the disturbances of the Church, seeing therefore no Scripture uses such expressions, as τὸ ἐξ ἑκ ὄντων, and τὸ ἦν ποτε

ὁτε ἐκ ἦν, it is by no means allowable that such expressions should be used or taught. And so concludes, *I thought fit to give you this account, that you might understand with what judgment I first doubted, and then consented; for though I was at first offended at some words, yet when I had impartially weighed their true meaning, I found that they agreed exactly with those expressions that I used in my own Confession of Faith.* This is a rational and consistent account of his whole behaviour; for when he had once said in his Creed, That the Son was God of God, 'tis the same thing, as if he had said, that he was of the same Substance with the Father. And yet notwithstanding this fair and ingenuous Confession of *Eusebius*, and his more full Declaration of his real sense and meaning in his Books against *Marcellus*, with what an unanimous Vote, both of Ancients and Moderns, is he condemned as a Ring-leader of the *Arian* Heresie, as *St. Jerom* rashly stiles him? But he can spare no Man a good word, that had any kindness for *Origen*, and that was the ground of his displeasure against *Eusebius*; I confess that he never could heartily like the word *ὁμοουσιον*, because it being a new word, and not found in Script.

Scripture, it gave the *Arians* advantage of exception against the old Truth, yet he always declared as expressly against the *Arian* Assertions, as *Athanasius* himself. But of all Writers those of the Church of *Rome* are most implacable to his Memory, for what reason I cannot imagine, unless it be that his plain account of the true State and Polity of the Primitive Church is so irreconcilable with the present Grandeur and Power of their Church. As for the unkind usage he has met with from *Baronius*, *Bellarmino*, *Binius*, and such like Writers, it is not to be wondred at, because they treat all other Authors and Records after the same Rate, that do not suit their turn, so that they are more offended with him as an Historian, then as an Heretick, and *Baronius* cannot forbear blabbing out the true ground of his displeasure against him, in that he too much betrayed that he bore no good Will to the See Apostolick. But as for *Petavius*, a Man of a more free and impartial enquiry, who does not make it his business, as they do, to force the Ancient Records of the Church to comply with its present State, but takes things as he finds them; for him, I say, to handle this great Man more roughly than

the *Italian* Parasites, looks like an unkindness without Provocation. He has taken great pains to prove this by divers looser Passages out of his Books written before the *Nicene* Council, which is by no means ingenuous, because himself has confessed, That he was not aware of the ill consequences of his own Notions, till the Debates of the Council discovered them to him, and as for the Passages that he has raked together out of the Books against *Marcellus*, I cannot find that any of them reach his purpose, and if any look towards *Arianism*, they are at worst but unwary expressions, when the whole design of those Books is level'd against the Heresie; and it is very hard when he has there so often declared against the great *Arian* Assertions, especially of the $\alpha\epsilon\ \epsilon\kappa\ \delta\upsilon\tau\omega\nu$, which is the Sum of all that Heresie, that he should be charged not only for an Heretick, but a Prevaricator. Though the hardest piece of disingenuity is his turning *Eusebius* his ingenuous confession into guile and falshood, but with what justice or candor I dare leave the Reader to judge from the words themselves, as I have cited them above, that give, as far as I can discern, as prudent and rational account of the true State of the

Contro-

De Trinitate
lib. 1.
c. 11, 12.

Controversie, as any that we have upon Record. But *Petavius* has met with his own Measure, for after all the pains that he has taken against the *Arian* Heresie, he stands vehemently suspected of Treachery to his own Undertaking. *Sandius* is very proud of his company, and lays no small stress upon the assistance

Hist. Eccles.

l. 1. p. 217,

218. & l.

2. p. 19.

He brags

that Petavius

in l. 1.

c. 6. §. 5.

calls all the

Fathers of

this Council

dunces and

fools, tho

there is no

such thing

in the place

quoted.

of his Authority. And though this *Rhapsodist*, whoever he was, was apparently a thing of no judgment, yet others that want not understanding complain, That he has done the Doctrine of the Trinity no great kindness by his defence of it, but has betrayed the constant Tradition of the Church about it; and it is what I have often heard objected by some that would be learned Men in common Discourse, though upon what ground I cannot devise, unless it be that some Men pass their censures upon Books only by skimming over Indexes and Contents of Chapters, instead of perusing the Books themselves; for I am sure no Man that has Examined *Petavius* his performance upon this Argument, can ever suspect him of a design to betray his cause, that he has defended with so much Judgment, Learning, and Industry; but so it is, that some Body turning over the heads of the Chapters, finds a Catalogue

catalogue of Fathers before the Council of Nice, that held different Opinions from the Catholique Rule, *Saltem loquendi usu* (as he speaks,) from thence it is shrewdly insinuated that he leaves them under suspicion of *Arianism*, which is so far from being true, that he had beforehand cleared them from all such suspicion as to the substance of the Doctrine, and proved the constant Tradition of it through all Ages of the Church from the Apostles. And sums up his Evidence of the whole matter in this one positive Assertion: *Omnes in eo Scriptores illi Presbyteri conveniunt; esse unum Deum, unamque Deitatem: non autem plures Deos aut Deitates. Deinde tres esse, qui Divinitatem illam habent; quique singula quæ nomen ipsum obtinent Dei, quæ proprietates, & ut Græci Philosophi nominant, ὑποστάσεις, quæ nulli alteri, quam soli ac verè proprièque dicto Deo tribuantur. Sic in eo rursus congruunt, ut unum de tribus fontem, & originem cæterorum constituent; eumque patrem nuncupent illius, qui proxime ab hoc numeratur, appellaturque filius, qui & genitus ab illo dicitur; ac tum Deus est, tum homo pro Nativitate duplici: quarum una sæculis est anterior omnibus ab solo patre Deo: Altera in tempore, sola itidem ex Matre seminâ. Hæc fere de*

de Deo ac Trinitate prosteri sigillatim illos reperies : idque alijs alijs clarius ac disertius eloqui. Quæ si sola considerentur, ex iis reliqua deinceps necessario sequuntur, quæ de hoc mysterio post Nicænam Synodum in Ecclesiâ sancita sunt, post vehementes ac diuturnos conflictus : Et ad convincendos ac refutandos Arianos aliq; religionis hostes idonea sunt ex sese. Now if all the Fathers agreed (as he says they did) in this Confession of Faith, it is impossible to charge them with the least suspicion of *Arianism*, only because some of them Platonised too much in some Forms of Expression ; and when he says (as he does once) that they were of the same Opinion with *Arius*, it is when he makes *Arius* not of the same Opinion with himself, and thinks him a Genuine *Platonist*, but if he were, that was not his proper Heresie, the peculiar poison whereof consisted in this, That the Son of God was created ἐκ οὐρανῶν ; which, as *Sozomen* declares, and *Petavius* too, no Man ever affirm'd before *Arius*, so that if he were a *Platonist*, he might be in another Error, but that was not *Arianism* ; and if any of the Ancients might seem to come too near him in some *Platonick* Expressions, yet they are all clear by *Petavius* his account from all

Soz. l. 1.
c. 17. De
Trinitate
l. 1. c. 8.
§. 2.

all suspicion of *Arianism*. This I thought good to interpose in behalf of *Petavius*, that so learned a Man might not be loaded with such a disingenuous surmise, for no other reason that I can see, than that he has deserved better of his Argument than any other Writer whatsoever, excepting only the great *Athanasius* himself.

But to return to *Constantine*, and the *Nicene* Council, after the Condemnation of *Arius*, the other Controversie concerning the time of *Easter* was easily decided the very same day, and all Churches are commanded to observe the Festival in the same form and time. And here the difference that St. *Athanasius* has observed between these two Decrees of the Council is very observable, That when they Enact concerning the Paschal Controversie, they say it seems good to the Council, &c. And set down the day of the Month, and the year of the Council in which it was Enacted, thereby intimating that the way of observing *Easter*, became Obligatory by the Authority of their Decree. But when they set down their Faith, they neither say it seems good, nor add any date, but express it in this Form, that so and so the Catholique Church believes, thereby declaring,

De Synod.
pag. 872.

clarings, That it is not a New but an Apostolical Faith, and therefore to be received by all Christians. And this is seconded by a Rescript from the Emperor, and recommended partly as a thing fit and decent, that the practice of almost the whole Catholique Church should over-rule the Customs of particular Churches, and in pursuance of this general Decree, it was farther Enacted, That on all *Sundays* in the year, and on all days from *Easter* to *Whitsontide*, Christians should every where pray not kneeling but standing, a Custom that had been practised in the Church from the Beginning (and tis reckoned by the Fathers among their immemorial Traditions) as a Symbol of our Saviour's Resurrection at that time, which being not observed by those Churches who kept *Easter* after the manner of the *Jews*, thereby to distinguish themselves from other Christians, the Custom therefore of standing is here injoin'd to be observed uniformly in all places, and so the Council expresses the intent of their Decree *ὅπως τὰ πάντα ἐν πᾶσι παρομοίως ὁμολογῶνται*, that all things may be performed with Uniformity in all Dioceses.

But

But the main thing that the Emperour enforces its Practice with, is the Divine Authority of the Councils determination, *Socrat. li. i. c. 9.*
τῶν ὁρίων τοῦ αἵματος ἀγμένως δεχόμεναι τὴν ἡραρίαν ἢ θέαν ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐντολὴν. Πάν γὰρ ὁ π. δ' ἐν τοῖς ἀγίοις ἡμῶν ἐπιστολῶν συνεδρίαις πράττεται, τὸ πρὸς τὴν θεῖαν βέλυσιν ἔχει τὴν ἀναφορὰν. Wherefore matters standing thus, it is requisite that you readily receive this Order as a true divine Command, for whatever is agreed on in the Holy Councils of Bishops, is to be taken as the Will of God. But then it is remarkable that the Emperour only imposes this Decree of the Council by its own Authority; and does not back it, as he does that against Arianism, with secular Penalties; for what reasons himself best knew: it is enough that it was not needful, for by the bare Authority of the Council the controversie was laid asleep forever, nor do I remember that after that time we hear of any material Contention about it. Now by the whole management of this business the Conclusion is evident that the Emperour thought that Laws Ecclesiastick ought to be made by the Ecclesiastick State, and when they were so, that they were Valid and Obligatory by their own Authority, though himself had power to enforce them with Civil Snactions, as he

Bb

judged

judged it servicable to the advancement of Religion and the Peace of Government.

§. VIII. And so the Great Council was dismiss'd as well as summon'd by the Emperour with that success he desired, in the unanimous Condemnation of the *Arian* Heresie, inasmuch that in that great number of Bishops, that were there present, there were no more then two that refused to subscribe the Decrees of the Council, *Secundus* and *Theonas*, as *Eusebius* himself informs us both in the life of *Constantine*, and in his Epistle to his Diocels, and it is from his Authority that *Theodoret* corrects the Errour both of *Soorates* and *Epzomen*, who set down six Dissenters, that is, beside those two, *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*, *Theognis* of *Nicaea*, *Maris* of *Calcedon*, and *Eusebius* of *Casarea*; but though it be true that these were the great Sticklers at first against the admission of the word *ὁμοούσιος*, into the Faith, yet is it certain from *Eusebius* his own account of it, that they all at last acquiesced in the determination of the Council, and *Athanasius* is witness of this not only for this *Eusebius* of *Casarea*, but his Namesake of *Nicomedia*. And here even *Philostorgius* himself who is mis-

l. 3. c. 13.

l. 1. c. 12.

De Decret.
Nic. Syn.
l. 1. c. 8.

miserably lost through this whole Story, and every where betrays his ignorance by his confusion of times, places, and persons, as well as his imperfect and false Relations, yet here I say he happens to report the matter accurately enough, though his Disciple *Sandius* (who always takes great pains to be in the wrong) forsakes both him and all the ancient Historians to follow the imperfect Story of *Nicetas*, who sets down twenty two Dissenters, and among them *Eusebius* of *Casarea*. But on the other hand St. *Jerom* tells us, and that as he pretends from the very Acts of the Council, that not only these Bishops, but *Arius* himself and his two Companions *Euzoius* and *Achillas* (the last whereof though but a Presbyter, *Sandius* is so ignorant, as to take him for the Bishop that was Predecessor to *Alexander*) were upon submission received into the Churches favour, but this I take to be one of St. *Jerom*'s hasty slips; for as all Authors beside agree that he was immediately banisht, so it is very unlikely that if he had recanted and been received into the Church, that *Constantine* should at that time have publisht that severe Rescript against him, that his Sect should be call'd *Porphyrian* i. e. Enemies to the Christian

in Dial. contra Lucifer.

B b 2

Faith,

Faith, and that his Books should be burnt upon pain of death. But beside that, if there had been any signs of Repentance in *Arius*, we should certainly have had an account of it in the Synodical Epistle of the Council to the Church of *Alexandria*, whereas on the contrary they bemoan the Calamity into which he had not only cast himself, but drawn after him *Theonas* and *Secundus* (two *Egyptian* Bishops, and the only two Bishops that stuck to the *Arian* cause) into the same Pit of Destruction. And that could be nothing else but banishment, as appears from the words immediately following, in which they congratulate to the Churches of *Egypt*, their deliverance from those wicked and turbulent men, and accordingly the Historians *Socrates* and *Sozomen* tell us, that *Arius* was recall'd from banishment not long after the Council, and not long after him *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*, and *Theognis* of *Nicæa*, who had been banisht from their Sees by the Emperour, not at the time of the Council with *Arius*, but some time after, as is evident from the Emperours own Epistle to the *Nicomediens*, in which he declares the reasons of their banishment, viz. That though they had subscribed the *Nicene* Faith, yet after their return home they

they had received some *Arians* into Communion, that the Emperour had removed from *Alexandria* for the security of the Peace of that Church, and that was the fault of the *Eusebians* in this whole affair, that though they were not *Arians*, they thought that they might communicate with them, as it is evident from the Synod of *Alexandria* in their excellent Synodical Epistle, who do not in the least accuse the *Eusebians* of *Arianism*, but only of holding Communion with them. Not long after the just Banishment of these two trimming Bishops, *Arius* is upon his submission restored into the bosom of the Church, but with a peremptory command never to return to *Alexandria*, upon which the banisht Bishops are awakened and encouraged to endeavour their own Restitution, in that (as they plead in their own behalf) when the person really guilty was absolved, themselves who had never followed his Heresie, but embraced the Decrees of the Council in all things and subscribed the Faith of *Con-Substantial*, could not but be concern'd at least to deliver themselves from the very suspicion of that Heresie that they never own'd, and therefore as they had before subscribed the Faith of the Council, with which they say the Council was then well satisfied,

Athanas.
Apol. 2. p.
738.

Soc. l. 1. c.
14. *Soz.* l.
2. c. 16.
Theod. l. 1.
c. 19. 20.

without subscribing the *Anathema*, so now when they were ready to give an entire assent and subscribe even that too as well as the Form of Faith, they hope't it would not only give them complete satisfaction, but move them to intercede with the Emperour for their Restitution. And that was easily obtain'd from him, who was desirous of nothing more then the Peace and Concord of the Church. But *Eusebius* being of an haughty and implacable Spirit, Studies nothing but revenge against *Athanasius*, who was the chief man, though in an inferiour station, that had born down himself and his whole Party in the Council. And beside his particular spite against the person of *Athanasius*, his Party could not digest the word *ὁμοούσιος*, as *Socrates* relates, and therefore raised a new War about it, notwithstanding that they agreed with the Catholics about the whole Doctrine of the Trinity; *When both affirmed* (says he) *one Godhead subsisting in Three Persons, yet I know not how it came to pass they were always contending about it.* And this we shall find exactly true. that after the Council of *Nice* they never in the least appeared in behalf of the *Arian* Doctrine, but their whole fury was bent against *ὁμοούσιος*, and *Athanasius*.

And

And knowing the invincible courage of the Man, they first set upon him with Calumnies and Accusations, not doubting but that if they could by any means remove him and some few of his Friends out of the way, that they might easily overcome the Word. But this they durst not attempt during the Reign of *Constantine*, who would never endure to hear of any the least change of the *Nicene Faith*, *l. 2. c. 32.* and therefore says *Zozomen*, though they were always heaving at the *Nicene Faith*, they durst never openly reject the word *ὁμοούσιος*, for they knew the Emperours mind in that matter. *αναφανδον ἔπβαλλεν τὸ ὁμοούσιον τῷ πατρὶ τῶν χριστῶν, ἐκ θαρρήσου. ἤδεισαν γὰρ βασιλεῖα ὡς δεῖ δόξαζοντι.* But after his death they grew strangely impatient of it, and drew in *Constantius* (who had been otherwise a very great Prince) to waist his whole Reign in a tedious War against it, insomuch that he summon'd no less then 14 Councils in less then twenty years for its removal, in all which the *Arians* were anathematized, & variety of Creeds compos'd agreeing in all things with that of *Nice* save only the word *ὁμοούσιος*, as will appear when we come to his Reign. But as for the Story of the *Arian* Controversie under *Constantine*, after the time of the *Nicene Council*, it is strange-

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ly perplexed by an unusual confusion among the Historians themselves; for though they all agree in the substance of the Story, yet they all differ as to time and order, but their mistakes are easily rectified by *Athanasius* his own Account, who has in his Apology all along set down the exact order and succession of things, and that is all, that is his own in the Apology; for he was so modest that he would not have his Narrative trusted upon his own Authority, but has justified every part of it by Testimonials from other men, publick Records, and the Letters of his Enemies under their own hands, so that the whole Story being its own Evidence needs no other voucher though it be in all its more material passages attested by all other Historians. And therefore I shall by his help set down the Progress of the whole Business with all the accuracy that I can, because it is one of the foulest trains of Villany upon Record, and was the meer contrivance of that wicked men *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*, a man of great Power and Authority at that time, whence he acquired the Surname of *Great*, which *Sandius* says, he acquired by his great power of working Miracles; but this Collector is through his whole Rhapsody his own

Author,

Author, for though he is every where Prodigious of his Quotations, yet those few that are truly alledged (and they are very few) or that are at all to the purpose (and they are much fewer) relate only to the general Story, as it may be told by all Parties, but his own particular remarks for his own cause are the Fables of his own pure invention. Thus here it would have been a considerable advantage on his own side, if *Eusebius* had been so highly favour'd of Heaven as to be endued with a power of working Miracles, and therefore he tells his simple Reader so, though no body ever told him so; but alas that Ambitious Prelate was so far from being eminent for any good Qualities, that he was only a Prodigy of Vice and Wickedness, neither was he in all this Contest acted by any zeal that he had for Religion, but meerly by an Atheistical spite and malice. And he seems to be one of them, that after *Constantine* embraced Christianity, came into the Church not for Religion but Preferment. And he invaded that so greedily, as not to stick at the most scandalous and open violation of the Canons; neither was he so much a Bishop as a Courtier, always insinuating himself into the favour of Great Men, and fawning upon the

the Emperour himself, but especially courting his Sister *Constantia*, by whose zeal, he was well aware, if he could gain her to his side, he might compass his ends. And it was his great interest in *Constantine's* Court that gave him the power and opportunity of doing so much mischief in the Church. And we shall find that he was not wanting to improve it to the utmost, where his Malice, and Revenge were concern'd, especially against *Athanasius*, whose affront he could never forgive, he having when but a young Deacon in the publick Council encountered and overcome so great a Prelate, and all that Train of Dependent Bishops, that his Greatness drew after it. So Powerful a Prelate to suffer all this Disgrace from so mean a Person as a poor Deacon, and chiefly by his means to be brought upon his knees, and forced to publick Submission, was an indignity so intolerable to his Proud Spirit, that neither the Deacons own Blood nor the Blood of all his Friends was sufficient to satiate his unquenchable Revenge. And therefore all the forged Accusations against him were of Crimes, the Punishment whereof was Capital, such as Murther, Rapes, and Treason, as the Bishops of *Egypt* observe in their Synodical Epistle, so that they impute

impute it to the great Clemency of *Constantine*, that when his Enemies sought nothing but his death, he appeased and prevented their malice by his banishment. The whole Story runs thus, *Eusebius* having regain'd the Emperour's favour after his return, writes to *Athanasius* for the Restitution of *Arius*. To which he replies, That the Ring-leaders of Heresies are not so easily to be reconciled to the Church as the deluded followers, & that the Church was always wont to punish them with greater and longer severities, and withal that himself was not at all satisfied of the sincerity of *Arius* his Repentance, and therefore would not as yet hear of any motion for his Restitution. This *Eusebius* immediately seizes as a fit Handle for his design, and away he goes to the Emperour, tells him that *Athanasius* keeps up Discord in the Church for his own private Picques and Animosities, so that though *Arius* desired his Absolution upon repentance, yet he contrary to his duty and all the Laws of the Church refused it. Upon this *Constantine* writes a very threatening Letter to *Athanasius*, commanding the Restitution of *Arius* upon pain of deposition and banishment, to which *Athanasius* returns such a satisfactory Answer as made the Emperour desist

Apology 731.

first from interposing any farther in it. *Eusebius* therefore finding himself defeated, tampers with the *Melchian* Schismatics of *Egypt* to make a Plot against *Athanasius*. They were a sort of People that lived in the Boggs and Marshes of *Mareotis*, where one Priest served ten or more Parishes, much resembling our wild *Irish* for dulness and stupidity; and they are thus described by the Bishops of the Council of *Alexandria*, 'To be men void of faith, Schismatics and Enemies to the Church, neither was this their first practice in this Trade, but they were old and experienced Plot-makers, they had conspired against their Holy Bishop *Peter* the Martyr, and after him they Accused his Successor *Achillas*, and then *Alexander*, whom they prosecuted even into the Emperour's Courts, and being thus versed and practised in Contriving Plots, they now hook in *Athanasius*, doing nothing strange to their old wickedness, and though their Calumnies against their former Bishops proved ineffectual, yet now at last they had their end by the assistance of the *Eusebians*. With whom these Good Men (as Mr. Baxter very prudently and seasonably for the Credit of his Party observes) joyn'd Interest, notwithstanding that

that they knew them to be *Arians*, just as if the *Nonconformists* at this time should seek by the favour of the *Papists* to be delivered from the silencing and destroying Prelates upon condition of Common Liberty, the cases are not much unlike. You may safely take his word for it, and for the reality of the matter of Fact too, and it is one of the fairest Confessions of Presbyterian Integrity that I have met with, though it is not the only Knavish Plot against the Church of *England*; that Mr. B's indiscretion has betrayed, as will appear in its due place little to the reputation of some mens honesty, who have been very busie without any Authority from their Superiours to Trim and Plot away every thing of the Church of *England* but its Revenues. But the Plot, being laid against *Athanasius*, they first tell a blind Story of a kind of *Nags-Head* Ordination, that he was privately ordein'd by no more then six or seven Bishops against the Vote of the Provincial Synod and the Suffrage of the People. But this was right *Mareotick* dulness, and was soon contradicted by all the Bishops of *Egypt* and all the Inhabitants of *Alexandria*, who

And yet Philostorgius has been so dull as to record this Story for an undoubted truth, notwithstanding those many clear Testimonies of its falshood still extant particularly the Synodical Epistle of the Egyptian Bishops, written on purpose for its confutation, l. 3. c. 11.

were

were so far from opposing his Election that they had almost run themselves into Tumults to hasten his Consecration. Then Stories are told of his Arbitrary exactions of Money from the People; but *Macarius* one of his Presbyters happening to be present at the Tale, informs the Emperor that it was nothing but an usual Collection to repair and adorn the Church. Upon this *Macarius* is not long after Accused of Conspiring with *Athanasius* to send Money to *Philumenus*, that was to murder the Emperor, but they both appear at *Constantinople*, and so satisfie him of their Innocence, and the absurdity of the Accusation, in that they had never known nor seen the Man (for in former times Men that were Strangers to each other were not wont to enter into such Plots, that if discover'd must certainly cost them their lives) and therefore the Emperour being assured that they were no familiar acquaintance with the Traytor, does not only acquit them but sends them home with commendatory Letters.

But these defeats instead of abating the impudence of the *Eusebians*, do but more exasperate their rage, and therefore they now resolve to stab home, *Eusebians* having gotten a new Evidence

fit

fit for the purpose, one *Isechyras* a debauch't pretended Priest, that had forged his Holy Orders, whom *Athanasius* in his last Visitation had deposed, and forced to fly the Country; he repairs to *Eusebius*, and offers him his Service as an Evidence, he receives him as a true Presbyter into his protection, and gives him the promise of a Bishoprick, if he will swear home against *Athanasius*, he immediately Swears that *Athanasius* had Assaulted his Church (though he never had any) in an Hostile manner, and that either himself or his Presbyter *Macarius* (for he would not be positive as to Persons) had in their rage overturn'd the Communion Table, broke in pieces the mystical Cup, (so they call'd it, to make it appear more terrible) and burnt the Bibles. But all this would proceed no farther then Deposition, and therefore he adds, that *Athanasius* had with his own hands murdered *Arsenius* a Bishop, and shews a Man's hand, that was cut off by *Athanasius*, when the Fact was done, and *Arsenius* himself being of the Confederacy was to abscond by consent, till *Athanasius* was dispatched out of the way. But so it happened very unfortunately, that *Isechyras* his Conscience (it seems Perjury in that Age was

was not grown to its full assurance) misgave him, so that he confessed the forgery of the whole Plot in a Letter to *Athanasius* himself, subscribed in the presence of a great number of Clergy; but the Cause had been referred by the Emperor to *Dalmatius* the Governor of *Egypt*; and before the Tryal *Athanasius* had the good luck to find out the murdered *Arsenius*, and had him forth-coming at the Tryal; and though at first he pleaded ignorance of himself, and denied himself to be the Man, and would have sworn himself out of himself, yet being Convicted by a cloud of Witnesses, he confessed the Conspiracy, and upon the shame of so clear a Conviction (for modesty had not then quite left the Earth) both he and *John* a Ring-leading Bishop among the *Miletians* confess all the Villany, beg *Athanasius* his Pardon, and the Communion of the Catholic Church. This the good Man could not but think enough to secure his Innocence against the like attempts forever, and therefore with all hast he dispatches away his faithful Presbyter *Macarius* to acquaint the Emperor with all that had passed, and upon the information *Constantine* breaks up the Court, clears *Athanasius*, and by his Letters to

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Alexandria declares the Villainy of the *Meletians*. And here the Plot slept for near two years before *Eusebius* durst revive it, but having with great pains and promises recover'd his Evidence, he and his Party insinuate to the Emperor, That *Athanasius* had taken off Bishop *John* by great sums of Money, and had so threatened the poor *Meletian* Nonconformists (for so Mr. B. calls these plotting Schismatics) that they durst not appear to give in their Evidence against him; That the shew of *Arsenius* was all a rank cheat, and that the Person that appeared in his stead was hired by *Athanasius*, and attested only by a few of his own Combination. The Emperor is both tired and amused with all this intrigue, and therefore summons a Council at *Tyre* to find out the bottom of these Plots, and unravel the whole Information on both sides. Where *Athanasius* accompanied with the Bishops of his Province, appears with that boldness and security that became his Innocence; for though flying Stories may gain credit among the multitude, whilst they are no more then Stories, yet when they are brought to a publick Examination before Judges, though themselves be Parties, they so visibly betray their own folly, that few

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Men have confidence enough to protect and support their falshood. And so it happened here, for *Dionysius*, who was appointed President to see that all things were fairly carried, was himself of the *Eusebian* Faction, and the Bishops that sat were of *Dionysius* and *Eusebius* his own packing, and yet for all that the Plot was lost in the management, and came to nothing; and indeed so defective and unfortunate was it in its Evidence, that no disingenuity in the Judges could piece it up. The Counterfeit Priest *Ischiras* is re-produced, and in hopes of his Bishoprick, swears all over again that he had before forsworn, but it seems though he stood not Convicted of Perjury, the Court was ashamed of his Evidence, for by the Imperial Law a Man that swore manifest Contradictions was supposed to have sworn himself a perjured Person without the formality of any other Conviction. But after this they bring upon the Stage such a Plot, that if *Athanasius* had not broken through it by a very lucky Counter-Comedy, must have ensnared him beyond all relief. On the sudden comes in a beautiful Woman, a common Strumpet, that had wit and impudence enough to act her part, and she with abundance of

Tears,

Tears, and all the Solemnities of Grief declares, That when she had devoted her self to Virginity, she was raviſht by *Athanasius*. And now here you may think that the *Eusebians* were confident they had him fast enough, but they were strangely out-witted, for *Athanasius* stands careless, and like a Person unconcern'd, and *Timotheus* one of his Presbyters that stood next to him, immediately takes the Accusation upon himself, and with great seriousness and passion Expostulates with the Woman, where and when he had ever been in her Company, at which she directing her discourse to him, and pointing directly at him, answers, Yes Sir it was you, you I say, that offer'd me this dishonourable violence and rudeness, with other foul forms of Speech, that are usual with such Persons in like cases. And yet though this dash't the Court somewhat out of countenance; and *Athanasius* requested that the Woman might be secured for farther Examination, yet was she dismissed so as never to be found more; and he is told that there are much blacker Crimes still behind, of which he should be convinced, not by his Ears but his Eyes, and so out comes the hand of *Arsenius*, for they now supposed themselves secure of him;

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being fled for fear of his life (for the *Eusebians* had threatned, that if ever they could reach him, they would make him pay dear for his discovery.) But such was the diligence, and so great the Correspondence of *Athanasius*, that he still had him in his Pocket, brings him into Court, demands whether they knew the Man, and he being own'd to be the same, both by the Judges and the Evidence, he turns back first one side of his Cloak and shews one hand, but they cry that it was the other hand that was cut off, and to give them encouragement he keeps them in some suspense; but after a while, when they began to be confident, he turns back the other side and brings out the other hand, saying, You see that *Arsenius* has his two hands, and that is as many as God made him, but from whence the third hand was cut off, I hope the Evidence will prove; and yet for all this his Enemies, though (as *Theodoret* observes) they ought for meer shame to have wished the Earth to swallow them up quick, finding themselves so wofully defeated, they send some of the rankest Members of the Committee of Secrecy to *Mareotis* for new Evidence; and in the mean while continue their Sessions from

Soc. l. 1.
6. 29.

307. l. 2.
6. 25.

from time to time, where all things are carried with Tumult and Confusion, the Evidence which were numerous, and the Rabble crying out and raving for his blood, the Emperours Officers that were sent thither to secure the Peace, fearing lest (as is usual in Seditions) the Rabble should take head, and tear him in pieces before their faces, convey him out of the Council; and he being tired with all these foul dealings, and finding that they were resolved upon his ruine, conveys himself from *Tyre*, and repairs to the Emperor at *Constantinople*, to complain of his hard usage, and implore his protection against all that inhumanity that he had suffered in the Council; but the Emperor was so prejudiced that he would neither see nor hear him, and withal so guarded by the *Eusebians* that *Athanasius* could get no admittance into his presence, and is forced to accost him in the Streets, but the Emperor regards him not, scarce gives him any hearing but no answer; in the mean time the Committee return from *Mareotis* with Cloak-bags full of fresh Evidence, not to be Communicated any farther then the Committee of Secrecie, and though all Accusations, whatever they were, were abundantly controuled,

C c 3

and

In Concil.
Max. Tom.
2. p. 455.

and over-power'd by several unexceptionable Certificates from the place, in behalf of *Athanasius*, and though even *Dionysius* himself was at length ashamed of the whole business, as he intimates in his Letter to the *Eusebians*, perhaps frightened to it by the bold conclusion of a Letter from the Clergy of the Diocesis of *Alexandria*, wherein they tell the Council, *That they had sent Copies of it to the Emperor himself, that so they might not suppress it, as by all their unworthy and unjust actions they had too much reason to suspect they would, but yet for all this, the Committee pretending that they were satisfied of the whole matter, Athanasius is in his absence Deposed and Excommunicated, the Meletians Absolved, and Ischiras made Bishop of his own Village, and a Church built on purpose in it for his Cathedral; and to compleat the Extravagance of the Scene, Arsenius himself was taken into the Council; and the Man that was slain by Athanasius, voted his Deposition, and subscribed it with the very hand that was cut off.*

See. l. 1.
p. 32.

§. IX. But *Constantine* considering with himself the modesty and reasonableness of *Athanasius* his request, only that

that he would be pleased to hear him before the Judges that had condemned him, it at length put him into some choller, and so confident an Appeal made him suspect some foul dealing, and therefore he Summons them in high terms, immediately to appear before himself, to give an account of their proceedings. But they being conscious to themselves of the foulness of their actions, send only a few of the Court-Bishops, who craftily wave all their old and baffled Accusations at Tyre, amuse and surprize the Emperor with a new Story, That *Athanasius* should threaten to stop the Victualling Ships from *Alexandria*, and boast that it was in his power to starve the City of *Constantinople*: This was a very tender point with the Emperor, that touch'd his own darling City, and this they very well knew, he having not long before put his great Favourite *Sopater* the Philosopher to death for the very same Accusation. So that here (as *Athanasius* himself reports it) the Emperour's fury took fire, he immediately fell into a rage, and without any hearing the cause, or without any form of Judgment, commanded my speedy banishment into *France*. And shortly after the Emperor dies,

*Eunap. in
vita Sopat.*

Apol. p. 805.

dies, of whose intention his Eldest Son, that best knew it, informs us, That his Father only removed *Athanasius* for a time, to rescue him from the rage of blood-thirsty Men, that were resolved to have his life, intending in a little time to restore him to his Bishoprick, but was prevented by death. And therefore the young Emperor declares, That it was in pursuance of his Fathers Will, that he commanded his Restitution. And *Athanasius* himself is so far from Accusing the Emperor's rigour, that he imputes his banishment purely to his kindness, to deliver him from the Rage and the Snares of the *Eusebians*; and therefore when they importun'd the Emperor to put another Bishop in his place, thereby to prevent his Restitution, he was peremptory in his refusal, and would never hear of it without great indignation. But however *Athanasius* being removed out of the way, the next thing they endeavour is the restitution of *Arius* upon his pretended Repentance; for it is all along suggested to the Emperor, that he had renounced his Heresie, and the desired Communion of the Church, which was denied him only by the peevishness of *Athanasius*, and that it was his single wilfulness herein that was the cause of all these

Ep. ad So-
liti.

troubles. The Emperour at their importunity recalls *Arius* and his Associate *Enzoins*; and for the security of their Repentance, they humbly present him with their Confession of Faith, in which they come up to the *Nicene* Creed in all things, but only the very word *ἐμοῦσι*®, for though they baulk the word it self, they clearly assert the thing, and instead of their prophane Novelties, That the Son of God was made out of nothing, and that there was a time when he was not, that are the two main points of the *Arian* Heresie, they now affirm τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ τὸν ἐξ αὐτοῦ [πατρὸς] πρὸ πάντων τῶν αἰώνων γαργονεμένον Θεόν, the Son of God to be God, begotten of his Father from Eternity; but if so, it is undeniable that he was of the same uncreated Substance with the Father, and this is so easie and intelligible in it self, that it was a most unaccountable kind of perverseness in the *Eusebians* to make so much stir against the word *ἐμοῦσι*®, that did but more plainly expresse the Notion that themselves profess'd to maintain: But upon this *Arius* is received and sent to *Alexandria* with commendatory Letters, not only from the Council but the Emperor, in which (as *Sandius* adds of *l. 2. p. 35.* his own pure good Will) he renounces the

the *Nicene* Determination, and rejecting the word *ὁμολογίᾳ*, recommends to them that of *ἐκφρασίᾳ*, and that *Alexander* Bishop of *Alexandria* subscribed the Letter, and that a Reconciliation was then made between him and the *Arians*, and this he proves with great gravity from Book and Chapter of *Socrates* and *Sozomen*; but if you consult the places referred to, there is nothing like this Story, and they happen to treat of quite different matters, as particularly the Chapter of *Sozomen*. of the Conversion of the *Iberians*. And as for the Story of *Alexander*'s subscription, it is as foolish as false, for that good Man dyed long before this time, *viz.* within five Months after the Council of *Nice*, whereas this Letter was not sent till after the banishment of *Athanasius*, that succeeded him; and yet after this time does this injudicious Scribler make him to prevaricate his promise, and then again Relapse to the *Homousian* Heresie. But this he is forced to do, to make something of the inconsistent Tales of *Philostorgius*, who places all this Fable immediately after the *Nicene* Council, but that being so apparently false, and against all Records, this Historian would thrust it in at this more obscure time, but so unfortunately, that the

the chief Actor that he brings upon the Stage, was long since out of the World. And after the same rate is he confounded and lost through the whole Series of this Story, so that at this time he places the return of *Eusebius* and *Theognis* from banishment, and to it tacks a pleasant Fable of his own pure devising, *viz.* That the Emperor after their return, enquiring of them the reason of their dissent from the Decrees of the Council, when they had subscribed them, they answered, That they subscribed not willingly, but being afraid lest he being offended at the Quarrel should fall off from the Christian Religion, as too uncertain and full of Controversie, and then from an Apostate turn a Persecutor, with which the Emperor being satisfied, resolves to call another Council to mend matters, but is prevented by death. But a Man that can write thus confidently out of his own pure invention, is a very fit second for *Philostorgius*, and a fit Patron to make out the fair carriage of the *Arians* and *Eusebians* in this whole Story. But to return to *Arius*, when he came to *Alexandria*, they shut their Gates against him, and he is forced to turn back to *Constantinople*, where was met a Council of *Eusebians* against

against *Marcellus*, then an eminent Defender of the Catholique Faith ; for having at last Conquer'd *Athanasius* they now resolve to rout the whole Party. In this Council *Arius* presents himself to the Emperor, and complains of the affront that was offer'd to him by the *Alexandrines*, but here he is again Catechised concerning his Faith, and the Emperor to tye him fast is not content with his bare Subscription, but makes him give in his Confession upon Oath. And upon this security he commands *Alexander* Bishop of *Constantinople* to receive him into the Communion of the Church, which the good Man flatly refuses, and hereupon the *Eusebians* agree to accompany him to the Church with extraordinary Pomp and Triumph, but in the midst of the Procession *Arius* was snatcht away with that strange kind of death that is well known to have been his singular Fate.

But here our faithful *Arian* Historians *Philostorgius* and *Sandius*, are so wise and ingenuous as to say no more of the Stories of *Ischiras*, *Arsenius*, and all the other parts of the *Tyrian* Plot, then that *Athanasius* was accused in Council of all the Crimes charged against him, and by them found Guilty, and that when the

the Commissioners from the Council appear'd before the Emperor, they so convinc'd *Athanasius* of all the Crimes laid to his charge, and so satisfied the Emperor of his guilt, that he immediately sentenced him to banishment ; these are worthy Historians, and proper Advocates for the management of the *Eusebian* Cause, that have the confidence to out-face publick and undeniable Records ; the foulness of all these proceedings was made evident by the Acts of Court yet extant, and the Confessions of the Witnesses themselves, particularly *Ischiras*, under Hand and Seal, and all this within short time after the Transactions themselves, published to the whole World by *Athanasius* himself in the face of his Enemies without any contradiction : And now when the whole forgery was thus shamefully expos'd in the face of the Sun, and stood so upon Record to all Ages, are not these wise Men to think that they are able to slur so clear an Evidence only by their trifling it ? as if all the World were so blind or so foolish as to read or believe nothing but their Fables. And yet this incredible confidence is all the strength of these daring Historians.

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This is the true State of the *Arian* Controversie, during the Reign of *Constantine*, and by all the premisses it is evident, that the Heresie it self could never openly appear after the *Nicene* Council, and that all the stirs, that were raised after that, were occasion'd by the folly and malice of the *Eusebians*, who profess't themselves *Catholiques* ; and that their contest with *Athanasius* was not about points of Faith, but his own particular Crimes and Misdemeanors, of which they falsely and wickedly accused him to the Emperour. So that his actings against *Athanasius*, after the *Nicene* Council proceeded not from any change of mind in him concerning the Faith (as some surmise) for it is evident through his whole Reign that he was highly tender of that as it was settled by the great Council, and only proceeded against *Athanasius* as a Person of a Turbulent and unquiet Spirit, as he was represented to him by the Calumnies of his Enemies. Though how he could be so long imposed upon after such discoveries as were made of the Villaries of the *Meletians* appears somewhat unaccountable: For what can be more so, then that men Convicted of Forgery in open Court, should ever after be admitted as Witnesses

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in the same Cause and the same Court ? But yet if we observe the matter carefully, all this was done without the Emperours knowledge, for after the first discovery that was made to him by *Athanasius*, all the rest was transacted by his Officers, for he knew nothing of the whole Comedy of the Council of *Tyre*, in which the whole business was managed, neither durst the Managers themselves acquaint him with any thing of the Story, but when they appear before him at his angry Summons that he sent only upon suspicion of their injustice, they on a suddain surpris and divert his rage upon *Athanasius* by a new and unexpected Accusation, that they very well knew by experience he could not bear, having for the same thing destroyed the man he loved. And therefore as *Constantine* was not only not Privy to the Plot himself, so neither was he guilty of that remissness in its Examination, as is commonly supposed ; for beside his ignorance of the transactions in the *Tyrian* Council, the whole mystery of it lay in the secret Confederacy between the *Eusebians* and the *Meletians*, that the Emperour could have no ground to suspect in the Council, for the *Meletians* were an obscure and contemptible handful of men in a remote and neglected part of the Empire,

Empire, and who could suspect a Conspiracy between these poor wretches, and *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia* and some of his own Courtiers ? And yet this one unsuspected piece of Villany was the bottom of all *Athanasius* his Calamities. Neither do I think the Emperour alone innocent in this whole matter, but several of the Judges and Prosecutors, that were imposed upon by the Forgery ; for it is not every one that Acts in a Plot that is privy to its Contrivance : that is kept within the close Cabal ; and National Plots in which vast variety of Persons unknown to one another are engaged, are not to be found in every age, for it is but seldom that mankind are so madly extravagant as to venture their lives at so cheap a rate. At least in the days of *Constantine* men were somewhat more wary, and if any man had sworn a Story of such a Plot, the very absurdity of his own Tale would have Convicted him of Forgery. And therefore we may be sure that at that time the secret was kept among a few, who till it was discover'd and brought into the Light, might draw in many others to act very enormous things with fair and plausible Pretences. This I take to be the peculiar Apology that wholly clears *Constantines* innocence

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in this Matter, his utter ignorance of the Plot, and the little ground he had to suspect it, though beside that, there are divers other Pleas that though they will not wholly justify, will very much excuse his Actions. As first the great lenity and gentleness of his Nature, that was abused and imposed upon by ill men, who insinuated themselves into his favour by a counterfeit Zeal for Christianity, and by that means gain'd the greatest places of Trust and Dignity in the Empire, and such men would be sure to abuse their Power to the ruine and oppression of the People. This is remarked as the peculiar blot of his Reign by the Historians of all Parties, *Ammianus Marcellinus* says, that it was the Emperour himself that opened the devouring Jaws of his Courtiers. And *Aurelius Victor* says, that under him the exaction of Taxes was raised to the highest Oppression, and (though an Heathen) that his Reign was in all other things like the Kingdom of Heaven, had not the Chief Offices of State been given to unworthy Men, which Miscarriages though they are often committed, yet in a Great Prince and Good Government, even small Vices appear a great blemish. *Eutropius* observes the very

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l. 4. c. 54. same defect, and *Eusebius* himself has left this Character of his whole Reign. 'The two great Calamities of his time were the intollerable Oppression of wicked and covetous men, that devour'd all parts of the Empire, and the false and hypocritical pretence to Christianity, to sweep away all the best ferments, and to this miscarriage the Emperours own good nature and the assurance of his own integrity betrayed him, so that he would trust any man that did but dissemble Christianity, or pretend any Zeal to his own service, and by this means many shameful and dishonest things were done, as if the Devil had out of meer envy to his Glory dash't this blot upon his other Vertues and Praises. And the two remarkable instances of this defect in his Reign are *Ablavius* in the State, and *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia* in the Church, two as bad men as usually any age produces, and the great power and wickedness of *Eusebius*, was the great infelicity of the Church under *Constantine*, for as *Baronius* has very well observed, (and I will say that for him he has been very just to this Great Princes Memory) his Court was fill'd with *Eusebians*, by the favour of his Son *Constantius*, who from the time of his ha-

Adam. 336.

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ving been created *Cæsar*, though a younger Brother was the chief manager of Affairs of State, in that he minded Business whilst his Elder Brother *Constantine* followed his Pleasures. And therefore all the worship of the Court was made to this active young Prince as the Rising Sun. So that he being Govern'd by *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia* (as he always was) he carefully stop't and guarded all passages of Complaint from the Catholicks to the Emperour, as appears by the Address of *Athanasius*, who could gain no admittance at Court, but was forced to accost him as he rode through the Streets, and the Emperour was possess't with so ill an Opinion of him, that he would neither then hear his Complaint, nor order his attendance at Court, which was a very unusual severity in his Government. And yet his love of Justice appears, in that when *Athanasius* Petitioned for nothing else then that he might be heard by the Emperour before his *Tyrian* Judges, he immediately summon'd them at so just and modest an Appeal. And then *Athanasius* might easily have cleared himself, had they not surprized and overwhelm'd him with a new Accusation attested by his own best friends, for the Witnesses that they produced of

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his threatening to hinder the Transportation of Corn to *Constantinople* were some of those, that had appeared most eminently in his defence at the *Tyrian* Council. This was an Evidence that could not be withstood, nor is it to be avoided but by one of these two ways. Either that *Athanasius* being vext out of all Patience by so long a Train of base usage, and knowing his great and popular interest at *Alexandria*, might in some suddain and extravagant Passion have bolted out some such threatening, which though it were a very high Crime in the Emperours Esteem, no less then Treason against his own Royal City, yet its Enormity consisted in its great rashness and indiscretion; and this to me seems very probable, if we consider his Great Spirit, his Cholerick Constitution, and his Infinite Provocation: or else that his Friends were since the Council taken off by the Bribes and Flatteries of the *Eusebians*. But if it were so, the Emperour could have no Evidence for it, neither indeed have we any ground to surmise it was so, and therefore the thing being so fully attested by *Athanasius* his own Friends, it was as fair a Testimony as could be given in any Case; no wonder then that it raised the Emperours displeasure so high, that he would

would hear no more, when it endanger'd the Peace of the Empire, and the ruine of his own City, that could not possibly subsist without the constant supplies from *Alexandria*.

To all which we may add the Emperour's impatient desire of Peace and Concord in the Christian Church, as it is visible through his whole Reign, and of this *Athanasius* was all along represented to him as the only Obstacle and therefore *Sozomen* leaves it doubtful whether the Emperour banisht him because he believed the Accusations against him, or because it would be a means of settling Concord among the other Bishops, the whole Quarrel being about him, and as his Enemies represented it, meerly raised and kept up by him; and therefore when *Anthony* the Famous Monk of *Aegypt* interceded for his Restitution, the Emperour returns in Answer, that *Athanasius* was a proud and provoking man, and a Ring-leader of Discord and Sedition, *for these were the Crimes* (says the Historian) *that his Adversaries chiefly objected against him, because the Emperour of all men in the World most hated men of that temper.* And therefore because *John* the *Meletian* Bishop was the head of the other Faction, he sent him into banishment

too, supposing that when the Leaders were out of the way, the Schism would dye of its own accord.

Now if we lay all these things together, we shall have no reason to lay any hard usage or foul dealing to *Constantine* in this whole affair, and they that best understood it, altogether acquit him, as we have seen from the Council of *Alexandria*, from *Athanasius* himself, and from *Constantine* the younger. And *Theodoret* pleads in his excuse, agreeable to what we have observed above of his easiness to be imposed upon by men that pretended well, *That he was apparently circumvented in the whole transaction by trusting to the honesty of some Bishops, that hid their Malice and Wickedness under great shews of Piety*. And therefore it is but a rash conclusion of *St. Jerom* and *Lucifer Calaritanus*, that *Constantine* before his Death turn'd *Arian*. When his zeal for the Nicene Faith was so evident through all the Actions of his life, when the *Eusebians* themselves, by whom he was deceived, were great pretenders against the *Arian* Heresie, and when he would not be reconciled to *Arius* till he had upon Oath profest the Catholick Faith, and when himself was careful to tye on the Obligation of the Oath with all possible severity,

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L. I. c. 33.

telling him, *if your faith be right your Oath is good, but if Heretical and yet you have sworn, know this that God will judge you from Heaven*. All which is very far from looking any thing like *Arianism*, but *St. Jerom* was an hasty man, and abounds too much with these harsh and heedless censures, and *Lucifer Calaritanus* though he were a Catholick was a very peevish man, and out of meer peevishness turn'd Schismatick from the Catholicks, and is the first Catholick Christian that I can find upon Record, that ever spoke rudely and indecently of a Sovereign Prince as he did of *Constantius*, before his Apostacy from the Church. For immediately after his Restitution he utterly forsook its Communion, because the Catholicks admitted the *Arian* Clergy into it upon Repentance, and is so stubborn in his Schism, that to keep it up he forsakes his Bishoprick in *Sardinia*, flies into *Africa*, the Soil of Schisms as well as Monsters, and there joyns Faction though not Communion with the Donatists, for though they never communicated with each other, yet they United Interests against the Catholicks. And therefore his rudeness to the Emperour *Constantius*, and his Calumny of *Constantine* though done by him whilst a Ca-

tholick, proceeded from his Spirit of Donatism, that was discovered by his Actions. And now having thus far set down the true Story of the Arian Controversie under this Emperour as to matter of Fact, and from it exemplified both the Authority and Duty of Christian Princes in the Government of the Church, I shall forbear making any remarks or reflections upon it, till I have given an Historical account of the exercise of the same power, by his Successors in the following Ages of the Church, whereby we shall find that the example of this Great Prince was set up as the best Standard of Government, & that those Princes that were most careful to discharge their Conscience towards the Church, and most prudent in the exercise of their power over it, propounded his example to themselves for the Pattern of their Reign, and that those swerved more or less from the right Rule of Government, who forsook his Method to set up new Politicks of their own devising; from whence we shall not only exemplifie the right and wrong exercise of Regal Supremacy in the Christian Church, but withal discover the several Grounds and Reasons, upon which the power of Princes (though not Ecclesiastical) comes to be so far interested

in matters of the Church, as to be superior to its own proper power, and that I hope is sufficient to settle this Argument.

§. X. After the death of *Constantine the Great*, the Empire is divided between his three Sons, and that, as 'tis most commonly supposed upon the Authority of *Eusebius*, by his last Will and Testament, though if we consult the passage in self, it is only a loose expression fitted to a Panegyrick rather than an History; and so are all his four Books of the Life of *Constantine*, and amounts to no more then this, That he left the Empire divided like a Patrimony between his three Sons, but that any division was formally made by Will, is an Addition of his Translator *Ruffinus*, who indeed is the first Founder of the Story, and for that reason we must pass it among his other numberless Crudities. For though his Story is pretended to be nothing else then a Translation of *Eusebius*, yet he has per-form'd it after that bold and careless rate, as almost to have turn'd the History into a Romance by flourishing it with variety of circumstances of his own invention. And therefore where he adds any thing to *Eusebius*, he is to be turn'd off, as an Author

*De Vita
Constant.
l. 4. c. 51.*

thor of no Credit, for no worse reason then this, because he speaks without Authority, for now he can have but that of *Eusebius*. So that whatever he has given us over and above what *Eusebius* has given him, must pass for an extravagant Dream and Vision of his own over hot Brain. And such is this passage, that *Constantine* himself made by Will the Division of the Empire between his three Sons, whereas *Eusebius* makes no mention of any Will, but only affirms in general terms, and that in a Panegyricall Stile, that he divided the Empire, that is, left it divided to his Sons as it were a Paternal Inheritance, which *Ruffinus* has boldly translated [*liberis de successione Romani Orbis Testamento hæredibus scriptis*] And this bold rendring is all the ground of this Conceit, for as for the Story of *Constantines* delivering his Will to an *Arian* Presbyter, it looks so like an *Arian* Fiction, and is so utterly destitute of any timely Authority, that as it can deserve no credit, so I cannot think it worth any Examination. Especially when it is so evident that he was so far from making the Dividend between his Sons before his death, that there was an intrigue after it for three

three Months and an half, all which times his Sons took not upon them the Imperial Authority, which was denoted by the Title of *Augustus*, but kept that of the *Cæsars*, which they had before, and is synonymous with that of Prince in other Empires and Kingdoms, till each man took upon him the Government of his own share, so that it is not improbable that the division was made among themselves, as 'tis expressly attested by *Zozimus* and *Victor*, and shrewdly intimated by *Julian* himself in his Panegyrick to *Constantius*, where he commends the Brothers for agreeing so amicably among themselves in the Division of the Empire, in that they had done as the Sons of *Darius* of old, who referred the like Controversie to the Arbitration of Friends instead of deciding it by the Sword; now this prudence and moderation had been very little commendable in *Constantius* and his Brothers, if every mans lot had been before-hand legally settled and determin'd by their Father, at least their reiterated Commendation for agreeing so fairly among themselves in sharing the Empire, shews that it was their own Act and Deed, and not their Fathers settlement. Though after all the most likely conjecture is, that every man kept that part, of which he was in possession

Idarius in Fastis.

Orat. 1. Ed. Pitav. p. 60.75.

session as Vice-Roy at his Eathers death ; for it is certain that at the time of his death the Government of the Empire under him was shared among them after the same manner, as it ever after continued, and therefore it was but a chance that the eldest Brother succeeded in that part that came from the Grandfather, in that he then happened to be the present Vice-Roy of it ; and it is but a lavish conceit that some would Collect from the Panegyrick of *Eusebius*, that he succeeded to it as Heir of the Family, whereas *Eusebius* affirms nothing more, then that the eldest Son had that part that came from the Grandfather ; but upon what account it was allotted to him he says nothing, and therefore it is most probable that as he succeeded not by right of Inheritance, (for there was no such thing at that time in the *Roman* Empire, and if there had, he must have inherited his Fathers Empire as well as his Grandfathers;) so neither by Will or Testament, for then his Father had dealt very unkindly by his Eldest Son to leave him but a younger Brothers Portion, viz. one half of the Western Empire, and that the worst too, the Transalpine Provinces ; but meerly by the Casual Title of Possession which he was forced to accept of, because his
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Younger Brothers would part with none of their demans, and therefore which way soever the Lot was cast, he was so dissatisfied with his own division, that he invaded his younger Brothers Dominions, *Italy*, and *Africk*, but perisht in the attempt : So that though he was a friend to the Orthodox Faith, yet he lived not long enough to do it any considerable Service, only he recall'd *Athanasius* from banishment speedily after his Father's death, in that he subscribes his Letter to the *Alexandrians*, commanding his reception, by the name of *Cæsar*, which must be within the three Months before the division, and that shews the forwardness of his zeal in the cause. Though *Sandius*, the *Arian* that would be, if he l. 2. p. 18. knew what it meant, is here so impudent as to tell us, thut upon the death of *Constantine*, *Athanasius* immediately returned to *Alexandria* without any Warrant from Authority ; and is so shameless, or rather stupid, as to cite for it those very Chapters in *Socrates*, *Sozomen*, and *Theodoret*, where the Princes Letters, by which he was recall'd with all expressions of kindness, are Recorded, and this is to prove that he return'd to *Alexandria* in contempt of that Authority by which he was banisht, and tho
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these Letters are so full of respect and honour to *Athanasius*, yet this modest Man blushes not to set down the Prince that sent them for a Patron of *Arianism*. I find strange dealing with the Records of the Church by all Factions, that will not or dare not be honest ; but this Man's whole story is nothing better than a meer blot dash'd upon them all, and yet because his Tale, though it be as dull as false, is cross to the received Opinion of the Church, from the Council of *Nice* to this very day, it is embraced as a great and weighty discovery, and the silly Scribler Canonised among the Wits and the Worthies of this discerning Age, and therefore though, whoever he was, he be a very contemptible thing of himself, yet because he has got the Authority of a fashionable Vogue, I am forced all along as I proceed in this Story, to expose his want of common Sense as well as common Honesty, only to let the unlearned Scepticks of the Age see by what woful Dunces they are cheated out of their Religion. And next to informing them of the real Truth of things, I take this way of checking their pride and folly to be the best method to reduce them to Sobriety. But to leave this Pedant, and return to my Story : Upon the

the death of *Constantine* the younger, the whole Western Empire falls to his Brother *Constans*, and so came in that fatal division both of the Empire and the Church, that at last proved the utter ruine and destruction of both. For after this time we read of nothing so much as Wars and Dissentions between the two States, and Schisms and Divisions between the two Churches (unless now and then when the Empire hapned to be united in one wise Prince, as in *Valentinian*, *Theodosius*, and *Marcian*,) till at last the Empire was swallowed up by its own divisions, and the incursions of the Barbarians, and the Church split asunder by an irreconcilable Schism between the *Greeks* and *Latins*. The first Foundation of which breach was laid by these two Brothers, who unhappily divided the Clergy of the Empire as well as the Civil State : For *Constantius* siding with the *Eusebians* in the East, and *Constans* with the *Athanasians* in the West, which was now become the quarrel, the cause of *Arius* being wholly laid aside by both Parties, and the only contest now was, Whether the word *ἐμὸν* ought to be cashier'd as offensive, because unscriptural, as the *Eusebians* contended, or to be preserved as a neces-

necessary defence against the *Arian* Heresie, as *Athanasius* and his friends truly maintain'd. Now each Party having the Power of the Empire to abet and support its interest, and the Division being become a kind of a State-Faction; this to be sure made the breach wider, and the quarrel fiercer then a meer Ecclesiastical Schism could have come to, insomuch that it sometime came very near to a Civil War between the two Brothers. All which was chiefly occasioned by the folly of *Constantius*, who being the more zealous and serious of the two (for *Constans* gave himself more up to his pleasure and luxury) he was so much the more busie in the advancement of his Faction, and it is an astonishing thing to observe how childishly he spent his whole Reign in Metaphysical wranglings about Religion, as he is justly and too truly censur'd by *Ammianus*

l. i. c. 16. *Marcellinus*. *Christianam religionem ab-solutam & simplicem anili superstitione confundens; in qua scrutanda perplexius, quam componenda gravius, excitavit discordia plurima, quæ progressa fufius aluit concertatione verborum; ut catervis Antistitum jumentis publicis ultrò citròque discurrentibus per Synodos quas appellant, dum ritum omnem ad suum trahere conatur*

tur arbitrium, rei vehiculariæ succideret Nervos. ' He debauch't the Christian Religion, that was plain and easie in it self, into Old-wives Superstition, and by being more nice then wise in his Enquiries and Speculations about it, he so entangled it into endless Knots and Controversies about meer words, that he wore away the publick Highways, and his own Carriages by conveying Bishops backward and forward to Councils, when after all he took upon himself to determine all controversies by his own Arbitrary resolution of all things. And this Character is truer then the Pagan Soldier, who understood not the particulars, could be aware of, for the word *ἀνομοίῳ* was the only object of his fury, and as *St. Athanasius* somewhere expresses it, he spent more pains upon it, then in all his *Persian War*; what numbers of Councils, like so many Armies, did he summon to encounter and cashier it, and after what an Arbitrary and unprincely manner did he behave himself in them to have his Will of it? Instead of calling free Councils, and allowing free Conference in them, he takes upon himself the Power of presiding and determining all by his own imperious Com-mands,

*Nazianz.
in laudi-
bus Atha-
nafi.*

mands, and at length tired out himself with vain strugglings against the Churches Authority, and after Five and Twenty years War against one poor single word, he repents his folly, and dies with the confession of it in his mouth. But what if the word did not please his Palate, what need of all this rage and indignation against it? And granting that it might have been spared at first as those that Seduced him pleaded; yet when it was approved and settled by the Authority of the great Council of *Nice*, it ought at least for the Peace of the Church to have been submitted to. For to what purpose is it to call Councils for the resolving of Doubts and ending of Controversies, if their determinations have not Authority enough to Warrant and Oblige our Obedience? This word therefore having been planted in their Creed by the great Council, upon mature deliberation, it became all modest and peaceable Men, though they had not at first approved it, after that to make no contention about it. And that was the Schismatical humour of the *Eusebians*, that when it was once fix'd by the Authority of the Church, they should be so restless against its admission, which was in effect to destroy and nullifie all Govern-

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Government in the Christian Church. For if the Decree of so venerable a Council be not of force enough to ver-rule every particular Mans own conceit, it is but folly and non-sense to talk of any such thing as Government in the Church, and this is that which *Athanasius* in his Book *De Synodis* every where charges so home upon them, that they troubled themselves to call so many Councils, and compose so many Creeds to settle what was already done to their hands by the *Nicene* Fathers. And they are gaul'd with the same objection by *Julius* Bishop of *Rome* in his smart Letter to the *Eusebians*. *ἐπιμύα γὰρ ἀληθῶς αὐτὴ καὶ ἡ συνόδος καὶ ἡνὶ ἐν αὐτῇ συνεληθόντων ἐπισκόπων, εἰαν τῷ μετὰ πᾶσιν σπυδῆς καὶ εὐλαβείας ὡς Θεοῦ πατρὸς ὄντος, γινόμενα, ἀντὶ μηδενὸς λυθῇ.* It is an affront (says he) to the Synod, and all the Bishops that sat in it, if what they with so much Pains and Piety, God himself as it were being present, resolved, should be slighted by us as a thing of no Authority. And this to them was a cutting Argument, for they all profess'd great Reverence to the great Council, and therefore ought to have acquiesced in it. And as it was in that case, so is it in all cases, when once a Controversie is determin'd by the Church,

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it ought to conclude all Christians within it. Not because the Church is infallible, or any Council how great soever, but because its determinations are Authoritative, and bind by virtue of a divine Commission in all cases that are not against the clear, express, and immediate Commands of God himself; so that if any Man dare presume to gainsay or disobey any Law of the Church, he ought to have an extraordinary assurance to warrant his dissent: But if he be refractory upon Surmises and remote Inferences, or about matters of no great Weight, or little Evidence, he plainly runs himself into the sin of Schism in this World, and the punishment of it in the World to come. And that will fall upon him with so much the heavier Load, because the Practice flowing from this Principle is of all things most destructive of that which God of all things most loves, the Peace and Tranquility of his Church. For that cannot possibly be any other way preserved than by a yielding and submissive Temper in all things, where himself has not apparently determin'd us by an antecedent Countermand. And such cases can rarely happen, whilst the Primitive Constitution of the Christian Church is any where pre-

preserved, and at least it is clear, that this was the case of the *Eusebians*, who raised so thick a dust against what was determin'd by the Authority of the Church, only because they supposed the determination unnecessary and imprudent; but what then? and granting it were so, it was not unlawful, unless it had expressly contradicted something that was necessary. But that themselves had not the confidence to pretend, and if they had not, then it is plain that they ought not to have quarrell'd with it, but to have quietly submitted to it, though not for its truth, yet for the Peace, and out of respect to the Sacred Authority of the Christian Church. And that would have saved and prevented all that Turmoil that they brought both upon it and the Empire too for so many years, only to persist in a peevish and (at best) a needless animosity against its Legal and Canonical determination.

§. XI. But to descend to particulars, *Athanasius* being arrived at *Alexandria* with all expressions of joy from the People, and settled in the quiet possession of his See, the *Eusebians* return to all their old Arts of undermining his Peace and Settlement. And to this end they deal with

all the three Emperors to have the Sentence of the *Tyrian* Council Executed upon him. But all in vain, for both *Constantine* and *Constance* are better informed of the Plot, and acquainted with the whole Train of the *Eusebian* Villanies, though *Constantius* his Ears are wholly possess'd by his Women, Eunuchs and Courtiers; as his Character is too truly and shrewdly set down by *Am-*

l. 21. c. 16. *mianus Marcellinus, Uxoribus ac spodium grailentis Vocibus, & Palatinus quibusdam nimium quantum addictus, ad singula, ejus verba plaudentibus, & quid illi aiat vel neget, ut assentiri possint, observantibus.* That he was too much overruled by his Wives, his Courtiers, and the Effeminate Addressees of his Eunuchs, that watch't to admire and flatter every thing he said, and whether it were wise or foolish, applaud it. But these were only Tools and Instruments placed about him by *Eusebius* of *N. comedia*, to be managed for his own ends, though the first Opportunity that he could seize to compass his long'd-for design upon the Deposition of *Athanasius*, was given him by the Solemnity of dedicating the great Church at *Antioch*, that was founded by the Emperor's Father, and finish'd by himself, at which were present Ninety Bishops

Bishops, which Meeting *Eusebius* craftily turn'd into a Council, and in it deposed *Athanasius*. And in truth it was but high time to seize the advantage, for the year before they had as craftily referred the cause to *Julius* Bishop of *Rome*, to which Judgment *Athanasius* had according to the constant simplicity and assurance of his own Conscience, submitted himself. But the *Eusebians* finding that after they had told their Story there, all their tricks were too well understood, and that they could not avoid a very shameful baffle, move for a general Council of Eastern and Western Bishops to be assembled at *Rome*. And now the Western were accordingly met, where *Athanasius* attended in Person, and whither his Enemies were summon'd by virtue of their own Appeal, to appear to make good their Charge against him; but *Eusebius*, the grand contriver of all, mistrusting the cause, takes this advantage of the Meeting at *Antioch*, and puts an end to the Appeal to *Rome* and the Western Bishops, by passing the final Sentence upon him at home. But by what subtilty they got it to pass the Council is not easie to discover, and it is, commonly apprehended from the supposed Authority of *Julius* Bishop of *Rome*, that

the intrigue was managed only by Thirty six of the whole number, that was in all Ninety, but this mistake is founded meerly upon a false Translation of *Julius* his Words, viz. *οἱ ἀνὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας*, which *Baronius*, and they that follow him understand of the Votes of Thirty six Bishops only; whereas it signifies Thirty six days Journey, as *Valesius* renders it, *Quia viginti sex mansionibus*. And that is *Julius* his proper reproof of the Ordination of *Gregory*, that it was not done at *Alexandria*, as the Canons required, but at *Antioch*, which was Thirty six Mansions, or so many days Journey, or nights Lodging from *Alexandria*. And of this use of the Phrase *Valesius* alledges many Parallel Passages in the Writers of that time, and then the sense of the whole Passage runs clearly thus, 'I pray you who acted most against the Canons? We that upon such convincing information received the Man [*Athanasius*] to Communion, or you that at *Antioch*, that is distant Thirty six days Journey from *Alexandria*, choose a Stranger [*Gregory*] to be Bishop of that City, and place him in his See by Military force? So that from this Passage rightly Translated there is no ground of supposing any,

any, either stealth or division of Votes in the Council; neither is there any need of it, in that for any thing we know the greatest part might either be *Eusebians* or Orthodox. But whatever they really were, they all at least pretended to be Orthodox, for the *Eusebians* themselves did not only quit but Anathematise the *Arian* Heresie, as 'tis evident from all the four Creeds, that were framed in this Council, in which they detest and Anathematise all the branches of it, particularly in the last, which they sent as the result of all to the Emperor *Constantine*, *We Anathematise all those who say that the Son existed out of nothing, or out of any other subsistence, and not out of God himself, or that there was a time when he was not*. And yet for all this express declaration, modest Mr. *Sandius* boldly tells us, That this Council expressly denied the Eternal Generation of the Son of God. But beside this Council of *Antioch*, all the Councils under *Constantine* that are commonly accounted *Arian*, till the last that over-reach't him against his own Opinion, have as fully and clearly condemned *Arianism*, as the *Nicene* Council it self. It is true, they could not digest the word *οὐγενος*; but otherwise as for the whole

whole Scheme of *Arianism* they have in all their Creeds *Anathematized* it with all clearness and fullness of Expression. And therefore it has been but a vain dispute that has been so long agitated about the Authority of this Council in particular. St. *Chrysostom* when he was kept out of his Bishoprick by virtue of a Canon made in it, pleads that they were *Arians* who made it. And for the same reason, they are rejected by his Patron Pope *Innocent* the first Pope, but with what design we shall see in its proper place, otherwise the Council has been universally received in the Catholick Church; St. *Hilary* himself reckons it among the *Anti-Arian* Councils, and the Canons of it were received into the Code of the Canons that was collected before the Council of *Calcedon*, and have ever since been received both by the Eastern and Western Churches, till *Baronius* and the late Romanists endeavoured to bring them into disgrace, for the Affront that they had given to Pope *Julius*, in rating of him so severely for intermeddling with their Affairs. For tho' that transaction is one of the main passages that they insist upon, to make out the Authority of the Popes Universal Pragmaticalness, yet there is scarce a sil-

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ler Testimony against it extant in the Records of the Church. For when he takes upon him to act out of his Province in giving Absolution to *Athanasius*, they charge him with a violation of all the Laws of the Christian Church, and tell him that when *Novatus* was condemn'd by his Predecessors, the Eastern Church would never receive the Schismatick to Communion, and therefore challenge him how he dares make so bold with the Discipline of the Christian Church, as to reverse any of their Decrees, and they afterward proceed so high in the Quarrel, as to Excommunicate his Holiness for his uncanonical Presumption, and to signify their Sentence against him by an Encyclical Epistle to all the Bishops of the Christian World, which no doubt is a very likely thing, if his universal Supremacy had been then as well known and as much talkt of, as these Men would make us believe; when as it is not in the least challenged, or any way intimated by *Julius*, so is it denied by the Eastern Bishops, as an utter overthrow of the known Discipline of the Christian Church. And whereas he cited them to appear before the Council at *Rome*, that was by virtue of their own voluntary Appeal, when they had refer'd them-

themselves and their Cause to that Council, for it was summon'd only at their Request and importunity. Now after all this that was done purely to gratifie themselves, first wholly to baulk and decline the Council, and then whilst it was Sitting, and the Cause depending, that they had put to reference, to pass Judgment upon it themselves, was such a piece of foul dealing, as is not to be endured in common Conversation. And that is the very thing that *Julius* himself charges upon them in Answer to their objection against him for intermeddling with their Affairs, not that they affronted his Supremacy, but that when they had put him to the trouble of summoning a Council, and while the matter was under Examination, they should put such a slur upon it, as meerly to steal away the cause that themselves had seem'd so much concern'd, after so many Contests, to refer to its final determination.

And in truth the whole business was so involved by the Craft of *Eusebius* from the time of the *Tyrian* Council, that *Athanasius*, which way soever he turn'd to clear his Innocence, found himself insnared by the Canons themselves. For as
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he was deposed in Council, so he could not be Canonically restored but by Council; and that is it they press upon him notwithstanding the Emperour's Restitution, in that though he had power to call him from banishment, yet he had none to take off the Censure of the Church. And the Plea had held good if there had not been so much and so exorbitant Villany at the bottom, though by it we may see, by laying one ill Action for a Foundation, what a vast Pile of Dishonesty may be built upon it. For granting the Sentence of the *Tyrian* Council to be good (as it would have been, had it not been so enormously base) *Athanasius* was, which way soever he moved, catch't in the Canons, and therefore in all his Pleadings he is so wise as to refer his whole Cause to the Acts of that Council, and that at last got him the Victory by making known their Villany. But granting them Valid, his Restitution by the Emperour was Canonically void, as to any exercise of his Episcopal Function, and that was the point that they urged to the Emperour *Constantius* in order to his Second banishment, but fearing lest if he should make enquiry into the whole matter, all their Forgeries should come to light, they carry their Cause a
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great way off, as far as *Rome*, and that with a mighty shew of fair dealing and ingenuity on their part, that they were so far from desiring any partial Judgment; that they would refer it to Judges utterly unconcern'd, and therefore send it into the other Empire. And now when this was done with so much plausibility, *Eusebius* all on the suddain huddles up a Council at home, and dispatches the business before the Council at *Rome* could publish their Sentence; and by that trick he very artificially enscost himself and his Cause in a new Quarrel, that would engage one half of the Christian Church on his side. For now it was become the Quarrel of the Eastern Church against the Western, because when they had sentenced a Cause at *Antioch*, what power had they to reverse the Decree at *Rome*. This must be an Invasion of the Liberties of the Oriental Church, and no less then an Attempt to bring them into subjection to the Western Bishops, and thus were they all drawn in by this Crafty Man to back his own Quarrel. And therefore it is observable that this Cause was ever after managed by this very pretence, and it was the very Complaint of the *Eusebian* Bishops, that parted from *Sardica* and sat at *Philippi*, against the *Sardican*

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Council, that they endeavour'd to introduce a new Law, that the Eastern Bishops should be subject to the judgment of the Western. And thus by this Artifice did this subtle man remove his *Tyrian* Villany out of the sight, and then he might go forward without fear or danger, for nothing else but the discovery of that could ever expose himself, ruine his Cause, and defeat his Malice.

But the most cunning Stratagem of all was that at the same time that they proceeded with so much seeming Christian Severity against *Athanasius*, they either Enacted or Ratified so many excellent Laws of Discipline, that yet were but so many Snares to *Athanasius* and his Friends after his *Tyrian* deposition, especially the fifth, eleventh, and twelfth. In the fifth it is decreed that if a Presbyter refuse to Communicate with his Bishop, he shall after three Admonitions be deposed forever, and be punished by the Civil Magistrate as a Seditious Person, a very good Canon in it self, but at that juncture of time it was only a Rod for the Orthodox Clergy of *Alexandria*, who the *Eusebians* too well knew, would peremptorily refuse all Communion with their new Bishop *Gregory*, that was thrust upon them by this Council and a Military Force in the

the place of *Athanasius* their true and lawful Bishop. In the eleventh and twelfth Canons all Appeals from Ecclesiastical Censures to the Emperour are strictly forbidden under pain of Deposition, and it is farther provided that if any Bishop be Synodically deposed, he is not to be restored but by a greater Synod of Bishops. This reach't *Athanasius* to the quick for his flying from the *Tyrian* Council to *Constantine*, and withal cut off his Restitution by the Imperial Mandate. Now these had been good Laws in ordinary Cases, but in the Case of *Athanasius* they were nothing but Rods and Snares; And so it is always, when injustice has got the upper hand, the Execution of Laws then becomes nothing but Tyranny and Oppression. If the Proceedings against *Athanasius* at *Tyre* had been any way fair and legal, though he had been hardly used, yet his Appeal was against the Ecclesiastical Rule, and it would have been more decent and becoming Christian Modesty, to have sat down under an hard Sentence, then to have made a breach upon the Order and Discipline of the Church. But when it was all rank Villany and open Forgery contriv'd on purpose to take away his life, it was then proper for him to take Sanctuary in the justice

justice of his Sovereign Prince for a common Subjects Protection. And indeed wherever injustice is become shameless and enormous, men are not bound to that punctual niceness of Rule, that they are bound to observe in common and ordinary Cases. And so it was here, their Proceedings at *Tyre* were so prodigiously base and impudent, that they exceeded the common Villany of Mankind, and so were by their own wickedness put out of the Protection of the Laws. I have the longer insisted upon this Transaction because it is an extraordinary Case, and has nothing like it in all the Records of the Church in the worst and most degenerate times, and though there have been several of the later Popes both wicked and cunning enough, yet none of them could ever match either the Malice or the Artifice of *Eusebius* in the management of his Contest with *Athanasius*. But whilst he was contriving and plotting his designs against him at *Antioch*, the Council at *Rome* proceeds to a fair Tryal, and after the Examination of the Acts of the *Tyrian* Council, and of divers Witnesses clearing *Athanasius* from the Calumnies fast'ned on him, they pronounce him innocent, receive him to Communion, and restore him to his Bishop-

shoprick. And thus are they according to the Plot of *Eusebius* engaged in a new War, that he knew would swallow up the old Controversie, of which the two heads were the two great Bishops of the two great Imperial Cities, *Julius* of *Rome*, and *Eusebius* of *Constantinople*, for before this time he had violently thrust himself into that See, and these were the first Seeds of that long War between these two ambitious Sees, that I have described at large in a former Treatise. But *Athanasius* leaves them to manage their own Fray between themselves, and makes all hast to repair to his own Church of *Alexandria*, where he arrives before *Gregory* could come from *Antioch*, to the great joy of the City, but soon after comes *Gregory*, and what havock he made by the assistance of *Philagrius* the Prefect an Apostate Christian, may be seen at large in *Athanasius* his encyclical Epistle to the Orthodox Bishops, and as he describes it, it exceeds all the Heathen Persecutions in rudeness and barbarity. But in short, *Athanasius* is forced to fly for his life, and takes Sanctuary at *Rome* a second time, where he knew himself safe, as being out of *Constantins* his Dominions. And about the same time the Popes Legates *Elpidius* and *Philoxenus*, having been from

from time to time retain'd and delayed by the Craft of *Eusebius*, return from the Council of *Antioch*, as with no satisfaction to themselves, having been Eye-Witnesses of so much foul dealing, so with an huffing and scornful Letter of Defiance to their Master Pope *Julius* and all the Bishops of the Western Church. And by that Character that *Julius* gives of it in his answer to it (for the Letter it self is not now extant) it breaths the very Spirit of *Eusebius*: but as taunting as it was, and as bad as their Actings were, he is forced to return a milder Answer then indeed was fitting, because he too well knew that they relyed upon the power and assistance of the Emperour to bear them out in their Enormities. But as civilly as he treats them, he deals as plainly with them as they deserved, and unravels the whole Plot of Lyes, Perjuries, and Calumnies against *Athanasius* from the beginning to that very day, and so plainly lays open to the Christian World the foulness of all their Proceedings, as to demonstrate to all men, that notwithstanding they had endeavoured to get the Canons on their own side by shifts and juggling, they had most scandalously broke all the most Sacred and inviolable Laws, not only of Christian

Discipline, but of common honesty. The Epistle it self is extant in *Athanasius* his second Apology, and it is a perfect Narrative of his Cause and defence of his Innocence, written with equal judgment and smartness. It is large, but the main head of it is in Answer to their great complaint that they should be cited to *Rome*. To which he replies, that in some cases it is agreeable to the Canons, that what is determined by one Council, should be reviewed in another; but however that was, he minds them that when they sent their Agents, after they had been pleased to refer the Cause to him, to manage the Evidence against *Athanasius*, they were so shamefully baffled in the whole business, that they had no way left to escape a final overthrow, but by moving for a general Council of Eastern and Western Bishops to be held at *Rome*; and now when the Council was call'd at their motion to pretend offence at its being call'd, as it argued very great Guilt in themselves, so it could not but raise very odd suspicions in others. And whereas they plead it as an Universal Rule, that what is determined in one Council ought not to be revert by another, he asks them how then dare you to alter the Faith of the Great Nicene Council, that when the

the Bishops of the Christian World were so unanimously concern'd to root out the *Arian* Heresie, they should so far slight their Authority as to reject those Provisions that they had made against it. And lastly (to pass by their smaller Cavils) he lets them see the necessity of this review, by ripping up all the Villanies of the *Zyrian* Plot, and so plainly discovers the gross dishonesty of the whole matter, as must make them cautious of ever reviving it for the time to come. And the Story is told so fully, so plainly, and so reflectingly upon the Persons Guilty, that perhaps it was the dishonour of this Conviction that broke *Eusebius* his proud heart, for he dyed lib. 2. c. 12. soon after this, though *Socrates* says he dyed before, but this Historian is all along miserably mistaken in the Chronology of the *Athanasian* Story, and his Errors of that kind are so numerous, that † Learned Men are forced to reject his Testimony as of no Authority. All the certain account that we have of the time of *Eusebius* his death is from *Athanasius* himself, who only says that he dyed after the

† *Socratis Testi-*
monium in rebus
Athanasii nulli-
us ponderis est,
quippe qui pug-
nantia inter se
dixerit atq; con-
traria.

Serv. Ecclef.
 in Socrat.
 & Sozom.
 l. 1. c. 6.

Council at *Rome*, and before the Council at *Sardica*, and that agrees exactly with the time of *Julius* his Letters, which could not but strike him to the heart. For by this Epistle he saw all his wickedness brought to light, and his malice against *Athanasius* after so much pains and so many deep contrivances, miserably defeated. And so dyed one of the worst Bishops that ever lived in the Christian Church, and *Baronius* his Character of him in comparing him to *Ahab* is very just and true, though he saw not through half his wickedness, that there was none like him before or since, who sold himself to the practice of all wickedness in the sight of the Lord; though *Valesius* is of the mind that he dyed a good Christian, and wonders at the Cardinals severity against him, when he dyed in the Communion of the *Roman* Church. And that is too much the common sense of the men of that Church, that whatever men are as to all other things, yet if they are but good *Roman* Catholicks they are good Christians too. But if he dyed in its Communion, it was because he lived no longer in it, for if he had survived till all his Train of Wickedness had been made publick to the Christian World, as they would have been in a little time,

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not only the Bishop of *Rome*, but all the Bishops of the World must have denyed all Communion to so great a Villain.

This is the exactest Narrative of all this Affair, that I can discover either by tracing and comparing the Relations out of the Antients of it, or the Observations of the Moderns upon it. *Valesius* indeed has used great subtilty to tell the Story another way. As if *Athanasius* had been but once at *Rome*, and that there had been but one Council held there about his Business, and that both were after the return of the Legates from the Council of *Antioch*, and that it was then that *Athanasius* was first absolved. But in my poor Opinion this learned man might very well have spared his pains, when it is so plain from *Julius* his Letter that *Athanasius* had been absolved by him before he received the Letter from *Antioch*, and that one of the main heads of the *Antiochian* Letter was to complain of *Julius* his irregularity in restoring a man to Communion, that they had Excommunicated. And yet *Valesius* says he can find no such thing in the Letter, and thus it is a common thing when men are busie in searching after small matters that are difficultly to be discern'd, to stumble at such great things as they could not but at another time have observed.

*Observ. Eccl.
clis. in Sec.
& Soc.*

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For otherwise nothing can be plainer then that *Athanasius* was Canonically absolved before the *Antiochian* Letters, for when they complain'd that *Julius* had received him to Communion, that is proof enough of his Absolution, for without that, having been once excommunicate, he could not have been received to Communion. And therefore it is but a poor shift of *Valerius* to help out his niceness, that Pope *Julius* received him as he did the *Eusebians de bene esse* till he could enquire into the merits of the Cause. For the *Eusebians* were under no Sentence, and therefore were to be received in course, but *Athanasius* being under Censure, he could not be received till that was taken off. But this is still more evident from the account that *Julius* gives of the reasons of his Proceedings, viz. that having taken an exact Examination of all the particular Accusations against *Athanasius* (and so reckons up the Calumnies and Perjuries one by one) he asks them which was most agreeable to the Canons, to Condemn him, as they had done, or absolve him as he had done. And if after all this, admitting an Accused Person to Communion be not absolution upon legal Process, I know not what is. And if it is, then the Story hitherto runs clear as I have set it down,

down, but by *Valerius* his over-nice account it is so involved, that I must confess that I cannot trace the Method of the History by it, nor reconcile it with the Accounts of the Antients.

§. XII. But *Eusebius* being dead, matters were very little alter'd or amended by his fall, for his five Confederates, *Theognis* of *Nice*, *Maris* of *Calcedon*, *Theodorus* of *Heraclaea*, *Ursacius* and *Valens* succeeded him in the Emperours favour and the management of all Affairs. And, if it were possible, these Commissioners Acted with greater violence in deposing and banishing of Bishops then the old Tyrant had ever done, insomuch that we immediately find several of the Eastern Bishops in Exile, and particularly *Paul* of *Constantinople*, who, poor man ! was all along second to *Athanasius* in the *Eusebian* Persecution, and had suffer'd almost as much from the Ambition of *Eusebius*, as *Athanasius* had from his malice. For *Paul* having been Canonically chose a Bishop of *Constantinople*, *Eusebius* had a strong fancy to his Bishoprick, and therefore gets *Macedonius* one of *Paul's* Presbyters, a man of a very factious and fiery temper, to bring in a general Accusation against him for an ill liver, *ὡς ἐκ τοῦ βίου*, upon which meer formality of

a general Charge without enquiring after any particular proofs, he is thrust out of his See and *Eusebius* immediately leaps into it. Though here the lying *Philostorgius* says, that *Eusebius* immediately succeeded upon the death of *Alexander*, and suppresses the foul Story of *Paul's* expulsion; but *Sandius* though he takes notice of it, is either so foolish or so impudent as to make use of the Calumny as a just Accusation against the good man at this very day, and brings no other Authority for it, because he durst not build upon the Testimony of *Macedonius*, but that of *ut aiunt*, i. e. as it is reported, which is much worse, especially when all good men ever report him to have been a very Religious and Pious Prelate; and even *Macedonius* himself at the very time that he Accused him, for form-sake to oblige *Eusebius*, is well known to communicate with him, which he ought not to have done, had he believed his own Accusation. By such little shufflings as these we may see how dully and slightly these *Arian* Advocates prevaricate with the Records of the Church. But to proceed, upon the death of *Eusebius*, the *Constantinopolitans* fetch home *Paul*, against whom the *Eusebian* Faction set up that Firebrand *Macedonius*, this brings the

the matter to high Tumults, upon which *Constantius* being then at *Antioch*, sends *Hermogenes* Master of his Horse to *Constantinople* to force *Paul* out of the City, but the Rabble taking head, he is unfortunately murthered in a Tumult, to the great scandal and dishonour of their Cause, for which *Paul*, as if he good man had been the Author of the Sedition, is banisht and imprisoned, and kept in Chains till *Constantius* was forced to deliver him together with the other banisht Bishops for fear of his Brother *Constans*, who threatned War upon him if he did not restore them, and so the good man quietly enjoyed his Bishoprick all the Reign of *Constans*, but upon his death, the *Eusebians* being back't with the great power of the 5 Commissioners grew more furious then ever, & prevail with *Constantius* to banish *Paul* again, neither would that content them, but he is kept in close Prison at *Cucusus* in *Cappadocia*, to be starved to death, & at last because after six days fasting, they find him alive, they strangle him.

Having laid the Story of this poor injured man together, I return back to our new Commissioners, who finding that though they had framed four several Creeds, in their first Council at *Antioch*, none of them would satisfie the Western Bishops

Bishops, they Summon a second Council to the same City in the Year 344, and draw up a long new Creed, for the most part consisting of Anathema's against all Branches of the Arian Heresie, and send it to the Western Bishops then Assembled at *Milan*, but they unanimously reject it, for this very reason, that they were resolved to acquiesce in the Decrees of the *Nicene* Council, and not be so curious as after the Authority of their determination, to make any farther enquiry; though

l. 2. p. 83.

learned Mr. *Sandius* says, they laid it aside, because it being written in Greek, they understood it not; a wise account of a Transaction of the Christian Church, that they corresponded in an unknown Language, and understood not one another, though they answer'd each others Papers and gave very good reasons for their disagreement, particularly the offence of Innovation. And there all along stuck the Controversie with the Orthodox Bishops, that they thought themselves bound to abide by the Decree of that great Council, and out of Reverence to its Authority would never hear of any Alteration. And that is the great Charge with which *Athanasius* perpetually loads the *Eusebians*, that for that very reason they could not be in the right in

in their belief, because they opposed themselves to the Faith of the *Nicene* Fathers.

But *Julius* Bishop of *Rome* finding things grow worse, and the Schism between the Eastern and Western Churches made daily wider, he Petitions the Emperor *Constantius* to move his Brother *Constantius* to join with him for a general Council, to which *Constantius* agrees, and the most Convenient place pitch't upon for their Meeting was *Sardica* in *Illyricum*, being the Confines of both the Empires, where in the year 347 met at the time appointed 280 Western, and 76 Eastern Bishops. But they are no sooner met, then they break in pieces; for the Eastern Bishops refuse to sit unless *Athanasius* and the other Parties Accused may be first removed out of the Council; whereas the Western will have them treated (as they ought to be) as innocent Persons till they are Canonically Convicted. Upon this, after divers inter-messages the Easterns forsake the City, and sit at *Philippopolis*; and it is more then likely that they never came with any design of agreement, and pick't this quarrel only to baulk the Council. And this is roundly charged upon them by the Council it self, in their Encyclical Epistle, extant in

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Athanasius his second Apology, as done by Compact ; the Passage is very remarkable, and because it is so, though it be somewhat long, I shall give the Reader the sense of it, as briefly as I can : ' It ' is not without cause that these Men, ' though often cited, would never appear, but by their constant shifting a ' fair hearing through the guilt of their ' own Conscience, confirm'd both the ' suspicion of their own forgeries, and ' gave ground to believe that the Accusations against themselves were but too true. And therefore because beside this ' shuffling, they have not only restored ' but advanced such as were Deposed ' for the *Arian* Heresie, in which design ' the chief Men after *Eusebius*, *Theodorus* ' of *Heraclea*, *Narcissus* of *Neronias* in ' *Cilicia*, *Stephanus* of *Antioch*, *George* of ' *Laodicea*, *Acacius* of *Cæsarea* in *Palestine*, *Menaphantus* of *Ephesus*, *Ursacius* of *Singido* in *Myfia*, and *Valens* of ' *Mursa* in *Pannonia* are now the chief ' Ring-leaders. These Men therefore suffer'd not any of those who came with ' them out of *Asia* to Communicate with ' the Church here, or so much as to ' come to the Council, and in their journey call'd several Meetings in the Form ' of Councils, in which they by their

threat-

' threat'nings forced the Company to ' enter into a Solemn Covenant among ' themselves, that when they come to ' *Sardica* they should peremptorily refuse the Authority of the Council, and ' never appear before it, or sit in it ; but ' as soon as they came thither, when ' they had made a formal shew of appearance, should immediately vanish. ' This Treachery is attested by *Macarius* ' of *Palestine*, and *Asterius* of *Arabia*, ' who were all along present at their proceedings, and who being offended at ' so much baseness, discover'd to the ' Council at their first coming, under ' what force they were detain'd, and ' with what wickedness things were to ' be managed. Adding withal that there ' were great numbers of Orthodox Bishops in their parts, but that these ' Men kept them at home by force, and ' with the bloodiest threat'nings if they ' should dare to appear ; and for all possible Security of all that came, they ' obliged them all to lodge in the same ' house, that so no Man might any way ' be ticed and drawn away from the ' Conspiracy. So far the Council, and ' nothing more evident all along then that the *Eusebians* dreaded nothing more ' then a fair hearing of the Indictments of

their

their own framing ; and therefore by all the Arts and Methods of dissingenuity broke all Opportunities that were offered them for it. So that though they were forced to make an Appearance at *Sardica*, by the Emperor's Command, yet they came with this resolution, never to suffer the matter to come to any Issue : And withal finding themselves so overnumbred that they could not obstruct it, they wisely take pet and quit the Council.

But the Western Bishops for all that proceed, and reduce the Debate to these three Heads (as they have drawn it up in their Epistle to Pope *Julius*.) First, The settlement of the Faith. Secondly, The Examination of Witnesses, that had been illegally rejected in former Councils. 3dly, An enquiry after all those various injuries, and violences that had been done to the Orthodox Clergy by the *Eusebians*.

As to the first, It is unanimously Voted to frame no new Creed, but to acquiesce in the sufficiency of the *Nicene* Faith.

As to the Second, They unravel all the Forgeries and Tergiversations of the *Eusebians* in former Councils, and in an Encyclical Epistle certifie all the Bishops of the Christian World of the several Perjuries that had been made use of, to raise an Accusation against *Athanasius* and other Orthodox Bishops ; and then of their

their several dissingenuous and dishonest Methods, to shift the proof of their own Indictment, particularly of their running away from their own Appeal to *Julius* Bishop of *Rome*, but most of all of their awkerd behaviour in this Council, where they would not be prevail'd with by any importunity or intreaty to proceed to Tryal, which the Council imputes not only to their knowledge of the defect of their Accusations against others, but to the Conscience of their own guilt. Seeing great numbers of Persons there present, that were ready to testify of their various Cruelties, and tell sad Stories of their Imprisoning, Banishing, Beating, Starving, Strangling Persons in Holy Orders, only for refusing to Communicate with the *Arian* Hereticks. And though the Criminals refused to appear, the Witnesses were Examined, and they Deposed, and both the Emperors written to, that their Majesties would be pleased to set all such at liberty, that were still under restraint, and to order their Officers for the time to come, not to use any force or violence against the Clergy for their Faith, but leave them first to be tryed by the Ecclesiastical Judicature.

In the next place the whole Intrigue against *Athanasius* is re-examined, the Stories of *Arsenius* and *Ischiras* farther proved by fresh Witnesses, and so both himself and the rest of the Deposed and Banish'd Bishops are restored, and the Intruders thrust not only out of their Sees, but out of the Communion of the Christian Church. And then in the last place they enact some Rules of Discipline useful and almost necessary for the Present State of the Church, as against the practice of *Eusebius* and other Bishops of the Faction, that invade other Mens Bishopricks, and though such Offenders were only sent back to their own Sees by the Canon of the *Nicene* Council, this Council is so severe as not only to Depose but Excommunicate them, so as not to be capable of being admitted to Lay-Communion even at the hour of death. Another Canon they made against the wandering of Bishops, and that reach't *Ursacius* and *Valens*, who left their own Diocesses to carry on the *Eusebian* Faction in other Provinces. A third Canon was, That if a Bishop were oppress'd by his Com-provincials, he might have leave to make his complaint to the Bishop of *Rome*, who might judge whether he ought to have a new hearing

ing or not, and this (beside some secret reasons) was to relieve the Eastern Bishops from the Oppression of the *Eusebians*, who carried all before them by force and foul dealing. Though the *Romanists* will have it to have been made particularly to justify *Athanasius* in his Appeal to *Rome*; but beside that if it were true, it would do their Cause no service; it is certain that *Athanasius* made not the Appeal himself, but that his Cause was first referr'd thither by the *Eusebians*, and that too with no other design then to remove it as far as they could from their own doors for fear of discovery.

§. XIII. But as vigorously as the Western Bishops proceeded at *Sardica*, the Eastern out-strip them at *Philippopolis*, they first take to themselves the Title of the Council at *Sardica*, they draw up a new Confession of Faith, and call it the *Sardican* Creed, in which they Anathematise all the Positions of *Arius*, and only omit the word *Consubstantial*. And as for *Athanasius* they cunningly load him with the Authority of the *Tyrian* Council, and the Sentence of *Constantine* upon it, *Qui omnia ejus flagitia recognoscens sua illam sententiâ in exilium deportavit,*
 G g 2 Who

Who examining into all his Crimes, banish't him by his own Sentence, as they blush not to aver, as if the abused Emperor had been acquainted with all the jugglings of that Council, when it was their only care to keep their proceedings altogether in the dark from him. But from this they proceed to infer that *Athanasius* being condemn'd by the Suffrage of so many Bishops, and the Judgment of the Emperor, it was now but a trick to move for a new Trial, when so many of the Judges, Accusers, and Witnesses were dead, and therefore they must have the old Sentence allowed and ratified before they would act, least (as they plead) *They should bring in that prophane Innovation, Quam horret vetus consuetudo Ecclesiæ, ut in concilio Orientales Episcopi quicquid fortè statuissent, ab Episcopis Occidentalibus refricaretur & vice versa, That the Ancient Custom of the Church abhors, that the Decrees of the Eastern Church should be reversed by the Western, and so on the contrary.* That was the point they would still be at, that whatever was done in the Eastern Church should not be submitted to the Judgment of the Western Bishops, and then that secured the Authority of the *Tyrian Council*, and as long as that stood

firm,

firm, so did their Cause too. But to make short work of it (for there are vast numbers of odd casts of disingenuity in their Epistle) they Excommunicate *Athanasius*, *Paul* of *Constantinople*, *Julius* of *Rome*, *Osus*, *Marcellus*, and all that had any hand in the Absolution of *Athanasius*, and this they signifie in an Encyclical Epistle written in the Name of the Council of *Sardica*, to their friends in all Parts of the World; and among many others it is directed to *Donatus* the Schismatical Bishop of *Carthage*, *Gratus* the Catholique Bishop of that City, with 36 other *African* Bishops being present at the Council of *Sardica*, and joining with it against the *Philippopolitans*, who therefore think to strengthen their Party, by courting the Schismatics to their side. And among other sweet flatters flatter them with their own dear Expression, viz. That they durst not join with the *Sardican Council*, *Ne proditores fidei Traditoresque Scripturarum dicamur*; Lest we should be esteemed Traitors of the Faith, and Traditors of the Scriptures; thereby insinuating an approbation of their Schism from the Catholics upon that pretence. And this took so luckily, that the Schismatiques pleaded it in the days of *St. Austin*, to

G. G. 3,

prove

prove that they had ever been in Communion with the Eastern Church. But both parties having done the business, that they came about, especially the *Eusebians*, whose only project it was to shun the Council, and make the breach more general with the whole Western Church, they break up their Assembly, and wherever they come put to death all that refuse Communion with them, particularly they make a great Massacre at *Adrianople*, where they cut off the Bishop's hands, and after that his head, with innumerable other outrages recited by *Athanasius* in his Epistle to the Monks. But as for the *Sardican* Council, having settled things as well as they could, they acquaint both the Emperors with the Issue of their Proceedings, and send three Bishops Arm'd with Letters from the Emperor *Constans* to his Brother *Constantius* to intercede for the restitution of the banish'd Bishops. But whilst they attended the Emperor at *Antioch*, *Stephen* the *Eusebian* Bishop of that place by his Instruments, conveys a common Strumpet by night stark naked into the Chamber of *Euphratas*, that was the most eminent Man of the Embassy, and famous for his great Vertue and Piety; but the Woman who expected some de-

Note that
this foul
Story is
carefully o-
mitted by
Sandius, p.
85.

bauch't young Gallant for her Companion, as soon as she saw the grave old Bishop asleep, and altogether ignorant of the matter, being surpris'd, and withal confounded with his venerable look, cries out so loud of the abuse, and force put upon her as made a disturbance in the Court, and so the whole business came to light, and *Stephen* is found guilty of the Contrivance, and is by the Emperour's own special Command thrust out of his Bishoprick. And this was the first thing that opened his Eyes, though they soon closed again, for by this (says *Athanasius*) he was induced to suspect the like Villanies against my self, and the other abused Bishops, and so recalled us all from banishment. Though the Historians say he was compelled to it by his Brother *Constans*, who threatned War upon him at a time when his Affairs were in a low condition, and his Empire in danger to be lost to the *Persians*. This might and no doubt did quicken him, but the first thing that set his thoughts awork was this discovery, if we may believe *Athanasius*, who was in a little time restored to his favour and familiar Conversation, and had opportunity to understand his mind. For *Gregory* that was thrust into the

Epist. ad
Solit.

Sandius is
 silent here
 100.

Sec of *Alexandria* dying within Ten Months after the *Sardican* Council, *Athanasius* is importun'd by Letter upon Letter from *Constantius*, to come to Court in order to his restitution, and it is a great while before he will trust him, after the Experience of so many Treacheries ; but having all the Security that the Word or the Oath of a Prince could give him, he at length repairs to *Antioch*, where the Emperor then lay in attendance upon his *Persian* War, and where he is entertain'd by him with mighty kindness and friendship, and at last dismiss with his own commendatory Letters to *Alexandria*, and assured by the most Sacred and Solemn Promises, That for the time to come he will never give Ear to any Tales and Stories against him, And at his parting only makes this request, that of that vast number of Churches that were under his Jurisdiction, he would be pleas'd to grant one for the use of those who dissented from him ; *Athanasius* replies, That he is ready to obey all his Majesties Commands, only he requests the same favour for the Dissenters at *Antioch*, i. e. the Orthodox, who would rather set up a separate Communion, then Communicate promiscuously with the *Arians*, as the *Eusebians* did.

did. This request was so reasonable that the Emperor could not deny it ; but the *Eusebians* immediately stifled the motion, as well knowing that they should loose more by this liberty to the Orthodox at *Antioch*, then they should gain to themselves or their Cause by granting it to the *Arians* at *Alexandria*.

And so the banisht Bishops are restored to their several Sees, and they quietly enjoy them till the unfortunate death of the Emperour *Constantius*, who in the year 350, was barbarously murdered by his Rebel Slave *Magentius*, who was the first man pretending to Christianity, that ever thought of Rebelling against his Sovereign Prince, though it is Evident, that he was at best but a counterfeit Christian, in that as soon as he had got the Empire he endeavoured the Restitution of Idolatry, as appears from the Law of *Constantius* to abolish the night sacrifices, that ^{De Paganis.} l. 5. (as *Theodoret* informs us were made for the dead) that were allowed by *Magentius*, contrary to the Law of *Constantine* the Great, who had taken them quite away. And *Athanasius* affirms, (that he <sup>In Apolog-
ad Constantium.</sup> was much addicted to Magicians and Incantments, and for the same reason is he commended by *Libanius* in his Funeral Oration upon *Julian*, that though he were

were an Usurper of anothers Kingdom, he was a restorer of the Laws, by which the Heathens understood the old Religion, that had been suppress'd by the Christian Emperors. But what do we talk of his being an Heathen, when he was

* by the Character that all the Historians of all sides give of him, scarce a Brute, cruel and bloody in all his Actions, sparing nothing in his rage, nor scarce out of it, inhumane in his very luxury, and at last completing all the Villanies of his life in the murder of his Family, and (perhaps to expiate all the rest) in his own. But *Athanasius* having lost his Patron before he recovered *Alexandria*, the *Eusebians* threaten him afresh, so that *Constantius* himself was forced to write him Letters of encouragement and give him new assurances of security. Upon which he goes forward and is in all places, received with all the expressions of joy and triumph, and in a little time is saluted with Communicatory Letters from above 400 Bishops, and his Enemies everywhere fall upon their knees before him and implore his Pardon, particularly those two vile wretches *Valens* and *Ursacius* confess themselves perjurd Villains, do publick Penance in a Council at *Milan* and then before the Bishop of *Rome*,

† and

† and declare to all the World under Hand and Seal that all those foul Accusations that were forged against *Athanasius*, were meer falsehoods of their own contrivance to take away his life. but though all this be attested by such clear and inevitable Records, yet our

faithful *Arian* Historians are so true to their own Story as wholly to overlook it. But this dishonourable submission does but make the Party more outrageous and implacable, and they resolve that though *Athanasius* had hitherto escaped all their Snares, that they will have his blood at last, and therefore they only sit still a little while to hatch new matter for Calumny. And that was soon done, for whereas the Rebel *Magnentius* had sent Ambassadors to treat with *Constantius*, or rather if it were possible mediate his Peace, two of them were *French* Bishops, with whome *Athanasius* had contracted acquaintance at the Council of *Sardica*, and now he treats his old friends in their passage at *Alexandria*, that is immediately made High Treason, and he is Accused

† ἰψευσαίμεθα, *Athanas.*
ἐπλάσασμεθα, καὶ *Apol. p. 673.*
πάντα τὰ κατὰ
Ἀθανασίου συκοφαντίας ἡμεῖς,
Mentiti sumus,
sinximus, ὅτι οὐκ
ἦν ὅσα Ἀθανασίου
objecta fuere,
calumniâ sciant.

* V. Juliani
Orat. ad
Constanti-
um.

of keeping Correspondence with *Magnentius* against the Emperour, though our Arian Historians are here so subtle too as to take no notice of this passage, because the Calumny was afterward so shamefully basted by *Athanasius*, as we shall see in its due place. But however by this and the like devices they once more enrage the Emperour against him; though he is forced to dissemble his displeasure, till he sees the Event of the War. In the mean time *Julius* Bishop of *Rome* dyes, and *Liberius* succeeds, to whom Letters are sent by the *Eusebians* in the East to joyn Communion with them against *Athanasius*, and others from *Athanasius* and the *African* Bishops to enter into Communion with them against the Easterns, *Liberius* at first, being ignorant of his Case, denyes *Athanasius*, but at length upon better Information, rejects the Easterns and Communicates with the *Africans*. But this was such an affront to their haughty Spirits, that they ever after studied and watch't for Revenge against him as diligently as they ever did against *Athanasius*. And *Liberius* foreseeing that they would raise a Storm upon him; dispatches away his Legates to the Emperour to Petition for a Council, but before they came the Emperour was lit-

tle

tle better then mad, for though at the Battel with *Magnentius* he was so far forsaken of all Courage, that he had not so much hardiness as but to behold the Fight, but retired into a Vault with his worthy Confessor *Valens* Bishop of the place, who had the craft to set his Spyes to bring him the first News of the event of the Battel, that so he might endear himself to the Emperour, by being the Messenger of so good News, if things went right: But if wrong, that then he might save himself in the first place either by flight or by betraying his Master to the Rebel, for Men of his Principles can never boggle at any Treachery. But so it happened that *Magnentius* his Army being put to an utter Rout, that he had that timely intelligence of it, that he had laid by his Spyes. Whereas the Emperour and his Eunuchs, a sort of Men that were his great Favourites and inseparable Companions, not having the courage so much as to look out of their hole, could suspect nothing of the Messengers Arrival; and therefore *Valens* to add worship to himself, like a Villain as he was, pretends that the Message was brought him by an Angel, and the poor Emperour in that sad pickle in which he then lay, gladly and greedily believed any thing that was for his own sake, and imputed the Victo-

ry

ry more to the merits of that Atheistical wretch then to the Courage of his Army. All which *Sandius*, though he carefully baulkt the Confession of his reiterated Perjuries, sets down with great gravity for a serious truth, as if God had miraculously interposed his Power at the Prayers of so great a Villain. But the Emperour being so suddainly delivered from the horror of his own fears by his Information, he for his sake grew much more fond of the *Eusebian* Faction then he had ever been, and withal grew to that sottish insolence as to forget his own frailty, writing himself *my Eternity*, and concluded that God Almighty approved all his past Actions by blessing him with so much success as to make him Lord of the whole World, upon which *Lucifer Calaritanus* writ his Book of the Apostate Kings of *Israel*, to prove that worldly Prosperity was not entailed on the Pious, but that the worst of the Race met with as much Prosperity in this World as the good and the religious. Upon this new encrease of Insolence the Shops of Calumny (as *Zofimus* expresses it) were opened anew, and though it had been a thriving commodity all his Reign, yet now it doubled its Price, and the *Eusebians* by flattering him in the grossness of his

his folly, got the entire management of him. So that when he understood that *Liberius* had denyed Communion with them and entered into League with *Athanasius*, he is all turn'd into rage, and notwithstanding all his former Oaths and Promises, he sets out an Edict requiring all Christian Bishops to Excommunicate *Athanasius*, † upon pain of deposition. About which time Arrived the Popes Legates, and when they came to treat with the *Eusebians* or Court Bishops, they refuse all manner of dispute about the Faith, and the only point they stand upon, is the Excommunication of *Athanasius*, and by the help of the Emperours threatnings prevailed so far upon them, that at length they subscribed his Condemnation. Upon which *Liberius* immediately dispatches away new Legates, of whom *Lucifer Calaritanus* was chief, whose zealous temper he might safely trust, and they prevail for a Council at *Milan*, but because of the death of *Gallus* and other incumbrances of the Emperours Affairs, it was not summon'd till the year following, viz. *An. Dom. 355*. And when they met, *Constantius* being now resolved to quell the

† ἡ ὑπογραφή
τε ἢ τῶν ἐκκλη-
σιῶν ἀναχωρεῖ-
ν. *Epist. ad
Solit. p. 829*

the *Athanasians*, carries all things by Force and Violence. So that the Legates refused to sit, and so did *Eusebius* of *Verselles* who was joyned with them, but they are commanded into the Council by the Emperour, where *Eusebius* at his first entrance throws down the Nicene Faith upon the Table, and tells them that he will comply with all other things, if they will but secure that, *Dionysius* Bishop of *Milan* takes it up and offers to subscribe, but *Valens* (who now with his Companion *Ursacius* were return'd to their old Trade of open Villany) snatches it out of his hand, and cries out that it was none of the business of their meeting. This comes to a scuffle and that to a kind of Tumult, upon which the *Eusebians* according to their usual Craft leave the Council and meet at Court, where the Emperour in effect takes upon himself the determination of all things, commands the Bishops to subscribe the Condemnation of *Athanasius*, banishes as many as refused, and when they pleaded in their own behalf against the Credit of the Testimony of *Valens* and *Ursacius*, that were then and there his only Accusers, he replies, what is that to them, it is enough that himself was his Accuser, and therefore requires it of them at their utmost

Peril,

Peril, by this means he gets 30 Subscriptions in all, then banishes two of the Legates and whips the third (in which worthy Exploit those worthy men *Valens* and *Ursacius* were the chief Actors) endeavours to perswade *Eusebius* of *Verselles* and *Dionysius* of *Milan* to subscribe, but they tell him that it is against the

Canons, to which he replies, † That his Will shall be the Canon. For which rashness they boldly reprove him, but he gives them no hearing, storms, rages, draws his Sword, swears and curses them into Exile. This is the Story as it is told by the Ancients, but as *Sandius* tells it, it was no more then this, that *Athanasius* was Condemn'd by the Unanimous Vote of the Bishops, *Paulinus* only excepted.

† ὁ περ ἐγὼ βέλομαι, τὸ πρὸς καὶ νόμιζέτω. *Epist. ad Solitar.* p. 831.

§. XIV. Things having been thus violently transacted in Council, the Emperour resolves to follow his own will abroad with the same heat, and therefore sends his Commissioners into *Africa* to take subscriptions against *Athanasius*, with express Authority to banish all disturbers, and sends one of his Eunuchs,

Hh

† by

† πολλοὶ καὶ μᾶλλον
δὲ πόλιν εἰσὶν Εὐ-
νόχοι παρὰ Κων-
σταντίνου, καὶ πάντες
δύνανται παρ' αὐ-
τοῦ, χωρὶς τε τούτω
ἡδὲν εἶναι ἐκεῖ γένε-
σθαι. *Epist. ad Sol.*
p. 834.

† by whom he was
chiefly managed, and
who were the grand
instruments of all these
mischiefs, with bribes
and threatnings to *Li-
berius*, to induce him
to a Subscription, but
he peremptorily re-
fusing, is sent for by

2. c. 16.

force, and by the discourse that past be-
tween them, which *Theodoret* has set
down at large, we may discover by what
tricks and forgeries the *Eusebians* had all
along imposed upon him. The first
thing is, that *Athanasius* must without any
farther process be condemned, the Bi-
shop replies, that cannot be done accord-
ing to Ecclesiastical Discipline, and there-
fore craves a Council. To this the Empe-
rour rejoyns, that he already stands un-
der Condemnation by the *Tyrian* Council.
That was their Post, which if they quit-
ted they lost all, and therefore when all
other devices fail'd, it was their last Bo-
rough. Though here a Courtier, whe-
ther through ignorance, or to divert any
farther discourse about the *Tyrian* Coun-
cil, steps in and swears that he was de-
posed by the Council of *Nice*. To which
the grave Bishop could make no other re-
ply

ply then a scornful smile, and so proceeds
to represent the foul dealings of the *Ty-
rian* Council, the Forgeries and Recan-
tations of *Valens* and *Ursacius*, but here
he is again upon a dangerous point, and
so is again interrupted by the Courtiers
with rude and impertinent reflections
upon the drift of his discourse, and there
is an end of all the Conference upon
that point. The next great Jealousie
that they had blown into the Emperours
head was, that *Athanasius* had so little
Wit, Manners, and Religion as to have
made it a great part of his business to
make bate between the Emperour and his
Brother, and carried it on so effectually,
that if *Constantius* had not very much re-
strain'd his own Passion, it had broken
out into an open and Fatal War, and he
is so much possess'd with this jealousy, that
he professes that the Victory over *Mag-
nentius* (though he run mad for joy of
it) was not more acceptable to him,
then one over *Athanasius* would be. But
to this the Bishop replies, That if it were
true, it was most proper for the Empe-
rour to punish such an Offender at his
own Tribunal, and not to force the Ec-
clesiastical Judicature to condemn a Per-
son of any Crime unheard. But when
nothing will do, he has his choice, ei-
ther

† Theodoret
l. 2. c. 17.

ther to subscribe the Condemnation or leave his Bishoprick. The first he peremptorily refuses, and so is banisht to *Be-ræa* in *Thrace*, and *Felix* his Arch-Deacon put into his place. And here it is again observable † that *Felix* was no *Arian* himself, but a Stickler for the *Nicene* Faith, only allowing the *Arians* a capacity of Communion with the Church. And that is the thing that I affirm all along to have been the Eusebian Cause, not to restore *Arianism*, but to piece up the Peace of the Church by comprehending all in one Communion or by mutual forbearance. So that notwithstanding that vehement out-cry that has been hitherto made of the Universal Predominancy of *Arianism* under *Constantius*, especially at this very moment of time, I do not find it hitherto so much as own'd, nor any man prefer'd upon the account of his being an *Arian*. *Auxentius*, that was at this very time thrust into the place of *Dionysius* of *Milan*, has as bad a Character as any man of the time, yet *St. Hilary* himself (though he were apt enough to make *Arians* by Consequences) says of him, that he always openly disclaim'd *Arianism*, though he suspects that it was because he durst not own it, so that whatever was at bottom, it is evident

dent that the *Arian* Heresie it self in all this Controversie never appear'd at top. And those very Bishops that are represented as the most zealous *Arians*, were rather Atheists then Heretiques. The Head and Founder of the Party was *Eusebius* of *Nicomedia*, and what a worthy Saint he was, already appears from the Tenour of his whole life. But when by his unfortunate favour at Court, he had got the Power of the Church into his own hands, especially the disposal of Bishopricks, and made that the only qualification for Preferment, to join with him and his malice against *Athanasius*; in this case it is no wonder if the vilest of Men flockt in to his Party in as great shoales, as *Irish* Evidences to a Plot. And such were *Valens* and *Ursacius*, Men Educated in Villany, and so hardened in their wickedness, that they were past shame at its very discovery, and when they could not stand out a Perjury, they would impudently confess it, and then face it out, and ask Pardon with as little remorse as modesty, and when they had unsworn a Perjury, they would the next opportunity swear it all good again. And such an one was *Epictetus*, *Athanasius* as he is described by *Athanasius*, a *Neo-~~Ep~~ed Solit* phite, rash and daring, and therefore

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dear

dear to *Constantius*, because he found him prompt and dextrous at all manner of Wickedness, and so could by his help ensnare what Bishops he pleased, for he would never stick at any thing, so it were but acceptable to the Emperour. And it is the same Character that is given of *Cecropius* and *Auxentius*, that they were Men of no worth, and prefer'd for no other merit: then merely their dexterity in wickedness to destroy good Men. And such an one was *George* of *Cappadocia*, who was thrust into the place of *Athanasius*, as he is described by *Gregory Nazianzen* his Countrey-man)

q. laudibus
Athanasii.
See the same
Character
in Epiphani-
us. Haris. 76.
Ep. Ammian.
Marcel. l.
22. c. 37.

the most notorious Villain of the Age: He was a Monster bred up in the Borders of our Country, of an ill-bred, but a worse Temper, a Slave, and a waiter at other Mens Tables, and so of no value; that he was sold for a Bushel of Corn, and by this baseness he was inured to do or say any thing for Bread, till at length he crept into some publick Employment, though the vilest that could be, to be Hoggard to the Army, which he discharged with so much cheating and knavery that he was forced to fly, and so wandred up and down the World, till at length he settled at *Alexandria*, where though he had made

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' an end of his Travels, he did but begin his mischiefs, and though he were contemptible in all points, of no Learning, no Wit, no Conversation, not so much as pretending to a shew of Piety, fit for nothing but to make mischief and disturbance, he outed so great a Man as *Athanasius*, and as vile a Wretch as he was, presumed to get himself placed in his Episcopal Throne. And yet this very Wretch is vehemently recommended to the *Alexandrians* by the Emperour's own Letter, as one of the best Divines in the World. So miserably did his Eunuchs abuse the good meaning of this poor Emperor, as to put the vilest of Men into the best of Preferments for Money; and as he got it, so he used it, not like a Bishop, but a Publican, till his Oppressions cost him his life, for which he had the good fortune in the barbarous Ages of the Church to be Canonised among the Principal Saints and Martyrs: For in all the timely Records of the Church, I can find no other *St. George* than this. And this was the peculiar miscarriage of this Emperour's unhappy Reign, that the Preferments were got into wicked hands, and then it is not to be doubted, but that wicked Men would get into the Preferments, and things

V. Athanas.
Apol. p. 625.
B. & Ep. ad
Solit. p. 859.
D.

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were

V. Athanas. were so basely carried at last, that nothing seem'd to keep up the good old *Ep. ad Solit.* *Eusebian* Cause, but the advantage that it gave ill Men for Ecclesiastical Plunder and Sequestration.

But to return to the train of the Story, *Liberius* the Bishop of the great City being dispatcht, the last Enemy to be overcome was the great *Mosius*, that Father of Councils, who by reason of that high Authority that he had acquired in the Christian Church, both by his Age and Wisdom, was able by himself alone to keep up the Orthodox Faith against all the Power of the Emperor. And therefore he is Summon'd to Court, and courted to join in the Condemnation of *Athanasius*, but he satisfied the Emperor so well by his reasons to the contrary, that he is dismiss'd with all Civility; but by the importunity of the Eunuchs, who feared that this escape would make an ill Precedent, he is immediately followed with a furious Epistle, commanding him to comply, or to expect the fortune of his Companions; to which the good old Man, nothing daunted, returns a bold but yet a civil Answer, lays before the Emperor at one view the whole Train of Villany against *Athanasius*, that had been so often proved, and then leaves it to himself

himself to consider, whether it became his Majesty at that time of the day to suffer himself to be made a Tool by such Perjur'd Wretches as *Valens* and *Ursacius*, and so in short, he denies all compliance, and defies his threatnings, and upon it he is immediately seized and convey'd to *Sirinum*, and there kept in custody till the meeting of a Council in that City the year following.

And though the fury of the Emperor's, or rather his Eunuchs Persecution in these European Parts, is here somewhat interrupted by the IncurSIONS of the barbarous Nations into *Gaul*, yet he rages so much the more fiercely in *Egypt*, especially at *Alexandria*, sending *Syrianus* with some Legions of Soldiers to murder *Athanasius*, who belets his Church in the night, where the People were then Assembled, and are commanded by *Athanasius* in the Name of God to depart quietly, and himself by a kind of Miracle makes his escape through the body of the Soldiers that had encompassed him at the Altar, but he being fled and lying conceal'd in the Deserts, *Constantius* is prevail'd with to put that Learned Divine (as he calls him) *George* into his Room, but what a notorious Villain he had ever been is already described;

scribed; but now being got into Authority he commits all manner of outrages in the City, makes divers slaughters in the Churches themselves, imprisons Virgins, Widows and Orphans, seizes on the Orthodox Christians by night, and throws them into Goal; ejects all Bishops throughout *Egypt* and *Lybia*, that refuse to subscribe the Condemnation of *Athanasius*, and of these some he banishes, others he imprisons, in short, he sweeps all away before him like a Land-flood, and bears away all the Orthodox Clergy out of their Possessions in the Church, *Athanasius* reckons up no less then Ninety Bishops ejected in *Egypt*, whereof Sixteen were banisht. But the worst of all is still behind, their Bishopricks are sold to Heathens, Soldiers, or any Chapmen that would bid most Money for them; and so all ill Men of what Profession or Religion soever, or rather of none at all, crowded into the Party for the purchase of a Bishoprick; and so was the whole Church put into the hands of wicked and debauch't Men, who could do no service in it, but in the way of out-rage and cruelty; and in short, the fury of this Persecution through all *Africk* is described by *Athanasius*, not only to have equal'd, but exceeded any

of

of the Heathen Persecutions, both for rudeness and cruelty. But still himself was the Man aim'd at in it all, great rewards are promised by publick Edicts to the Man that shall slay him, and blood-hounds are sent out into all Parts to scent out his Form, but by a great wonder of Providence he lyes undiscovered all the time of *Constantius*. And in this retirement he did himself and the World that right, as to write those two excellent Discourses in his own Vindication, *viz.* his Epistle to the Monks, and his first Apology to *Constantius*; in both which he has with that clearness of Reason, and evidence of Record laid open the wickedness of the *Eusebians*, in the contrivance of all his Troubles from the time of the Council of *Nice* to that very day, that it is not so properly an History as a Demonstration, for he has related nothing that he has not proved by undeniable Records. And the truth of it is, he is the only valuable Historian of his own Actions, for all the Historians are so confus'd in their account of him, that as they are not to be at all trusted when they differ from him, so are they very little to be relied upon in any Report, that is not vouch't by his Authority.

§. XV. Thus far has this long Controversie been carried on between the *Eusebians*, and the Abettors of the *Niceene Faith*, but now the *Arian Cause* is again brought upon the Stage in another guise by *Photinus* Bishop of *Sirmium*, who revives the old exploded Heresie of *Paulus Samosatenus*, that differs from *Arianism* only in this one Circumstance, That it affirms the Son of God not to have been Created till the time of his Nativity; whereas *Arius* will have him to have been the first-born of all Creatures; yet they both agree in the main Polson of the Heresie, That he was a Being Created out of Nothing, and then it is not much material in it self, how soon or how late it was brought to pass. But yet however this new-vampt Hypothesis appearing more bold, and tending to bring down the Son of God into the same rank with every ordinary Son of a Woman, whereas *Arius* allowed him great share in the Creation of the Universe, and an eminency of Power, and Dignity over all other Creatures. This therefore alarms all Parties, *Catholicks* and *Eusebians*, and a Council is call'd at *Sirmium* for its Condemnation. And here the Learned *Petavius* is as over-nice to

*Animad.
Epiaph. ad
heres. 73.
Or dissent.
de Photini
dampnatione.*

disturb the plain History of this Council, as I have shewn *Kalesius* to have been in reforming the History of the Council at *Rome*, and the Absolution of *Athanasius*. For as he there took a great deal of pains to make but one Council of two, so has our Learned Jesuite here to make two of one. For though there is mention of no more then one in all the Ancient Records of the Church, yet he has lately found out another that (he says) has hitherto lain buried under the ruins of *St. Hilary's* Fragments; but alas they are so imperfect and confused, that nothing can with any assurance be built upon their single Testimony, much less upon remote inferences from them, which yet is all the light that this Learned Man is able to strike out of that Rubbish. Neither indeed is it *tanti* to spend so much Learning upon such a lean and barren Enquiry, for whether there were two or one *Sirmian* Councils, they were call'd upon the same Errand, and (as I shall prove) were of the same mind, and what that is we sufficiently know by the Records of that which he would have to be the second, whereas the most that we can know of the first beside this, is only that there was such a Council, and if that be all, I cannot

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see what Temptation the Learned Man could have, to be so proud of his discovery; and to take so much pains to make out a nicety of so little weight. I must confess with him and Father Labbe, That there is no part of Ecclesiastical History more involved, then that which relates to the Transactions of this Council, but then the difficulty arises not from any confusion of the two Councils as they imagine, but upon the defect of some Records, that they have not observed, though they are grounded upon an evident mistake, as I shall shew in the progress of the Story. In the first place, as for the time of the sitting of this Council, it is become a great Controversie among the Learned, *Baronius* places it in the year 357, *Petavins*, and after him *Valesius*, in the year 351, though I cannot see any reason that they have for it, then only to serve the Hypothesis of a double Council. And as for the reasons that *Baronius* gives for his Chronology, they are evident from the very Story, of that time, viz. that the Council of *Sirmium* was call'd after the Council of *Milan*, the Banishment of *Liberius*, and the Confinement of *Hosius* at *Sirmium*, and three years after the Council of *Arles* by *St. Hilary*, & the Orthodox Bishops against

Satur

Saturinus, all which fall in exactly with this time. To which might have been added, that it was but a little time before the Council of *Ancyra*, where the Bishops that had been present at this Council of *Sirmium*, were surpris'd with the news of the bold proceedings of *Valens* and his Companions, against their Decrees at *Sirmium*; and yet it is evident, and proved by *Petavius* himself, that the Council of *Ancyra* met in the year 358, whereas by his Hypothesis there must have been Seven years distance between the two Councils, which is utterly inconsistent with the whole Train of the Story. And as for the Arguments of *Baronius*, though they are rejected by *Petavius*, yet I do not find that he has any way attempted either to answer or disprove them, unless by opposing to them the Authority of *Socrates*, and *Sozomen*, who place it in the year after the Consulship of *Sergius* and *Nigrinianus*, and that is the year 351. But to me it looks very strange, that these Learned Men should lay so much stress upon the Authority of these Writers in a point of Chronology, when themselves so well knew, and have so well proved too, that there is scarce a Transaction in the whole History, that they have not

Mis

Mis-timed, Ante-dating, or Post-dating every thing. And that they did so here, is evident from the whole Series of the History, especially the time of the banishment of *Hofius*, after the Council of *Milan*, in the first place, which could not be till some years after the year 351, in that the Council of *Milan* it self was not held till the year 355. And in the next place the meeting of the Convention at *Ancyra* in the year 358, upon the first news of the disorderly proceedings of *Valens* and his Faction against the *Sirmian* Council, which could scarce take up a years time, but much less seven years, which it must have done if the first sitting of the Council had been in the year 351. But beside both these evident Demonstrations, there is another proof of as great force out of the Historians themselves, of which *Valerius* has taken notice, but over-lookt the Consequence. *i. e.* That several Bishops that they affirm to have been present at the Council, were not Bishops till some years after the year 351, particularly *George* of *Alexandria*, and *Hypatianus* of *Heraclea*, who came not to their Bishopricks till the year 356. And then I hope no Man can doubt but that it was an evident mistake to make them Bishops in the year 351.

Now

Annot. in
Socrat. hist.
l. 2. c. 29.

Now the time being rightly stated against the over-curious amendment of these Learned Men, the whole Series of the Story will run smooth and easie: For the Emperor coming to *Sirmium* in his Wars against the Barbarians, as *Amianus Marcellinus* says he did that very year, where *Photinus* Bishop of the place had divulged his Heresie, and by it (as *Socrates* affirms) raised Tumults among the People; the *Eusebian* Bishops, that always followed the Court, perswade him to call a Council for the Condemnation of this new Heresie, and that pack't out of their own Faction: Partly to shew their Zeal against the Prophane Novelty, and that was the great Principle that they pretended to be fond of, the abhorrence of Innovation: Partly to vindicate themselves against that standing objection of the Catholicks, as it is set out by * *Lucifer Calaritanus*, that if they would allow Communion with the *Arians*, there was no avoiding it, but that they must grant it too to the *Samosatenians*. This being

* *Ecce Photinus hominem tantam profectur Dei filium; dicit illum non fuisse ante beatam Mariam: tua quoque hæc est professio. Quod enim ante omnia quidem, hoc est ante*
Cælos;

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De non par-
cend. in Di-
um delinq.

*Cælos, Terram, Ma-
re, & omnia quæ in
eis sunt, Filius Dei
fit; sed quod extite-
rit ex nihilo, sed
quid interesse Arbi-
traris inter te &
Paulum Samosate-
num, veleum, tum e-
jus Discipulum. tuum
Conscotinum, nisi quia
tu ante omnia dicis,
ille vero post omnia?
Cæterum una vobis
credulitatis & in-
credulitatis mens
est, ut dicereis non
habere Deum verum
filium.*

the Subscriptions of the Council of *Antioch*, whereof all were present at this, and from the Presidency of *Basilius*, who was both an Eminent *Eusebian*, and the Chairman and chief Actor in this Council. Neither is there the name of any one Orthodox Bishop that was present at this Council upon Record, but only *Hosius*, who was there by compulsion. Now to give a cast of their Zeal both against the

new

the Master objecti-
on against them,
which they could
never avoid, though
they would never
submit to it; and
now finding the *Samosatene* Heresie
brought in upon
them, they are more
concern'd then any
other Party to ap-
pear against it, both
to clear themselves
of the objection and
to vindicate their
own Reputation:
That the main Bo-
dy of the Council
consisted of *Eusebi-
ans*, is evident from

new and the old Heresie, they revive
the fourth Creed of the Council of *Antioch*, which that Council sent to the
Emperor *Constantine* to clear themselves from
all suspicion of the *Arian* Heresie; and
wherein they endeavour'd to express the
sense of the *Nicene* Fathers, and make
an effectual bar against *Arianism*, with-
out the word *Homoousios*. And then
to their own Declaration of Faith, in
which they affirm, That the Son existed
out of no other Substance then God him-
self, they annex 27 *Anathemas* against
every branch both of the *Arian* and *Pho-
tinian* Heresie. All which *Anathemas*
are carefully omitted by our faithful Hi-
storian *Sandius*, because he is resolved to
make all the Fathers of this *Anti-Arian*
Council rank *Arians*. But this Creed
was thought so satisfactory in those days,
that it is recommended by St. *Hilary*
among the Orthodox Creeds, subscribed
by *Liberius*, and approved by *Athana-
sius*, who own'd it as Orthodox, and
found no other fault with it then that
it wanted the word *ὁμοούσιος*. And this
was all the Confession of Faith that was
made in or by this Council, though the
Historians after their careless manner tell
us of two others, to the great confusion
of the Story. For as to the second, it is

I i 2

cer-

De Synod.
Arin. &
Seleuc.

certain that it was made after the dissolution of the Council, or at least out of it, upon this account, that the Council had vouch't the word *soia*, and declared so frankly against the *Arians*. Which so disgusted *Valens*, *Ursacius* and their Associates, that were more warping to *Arianism* then was suspected, and indeed had been secret *Arians* all along, as will appear by the sequel of the Story, that they draw up another Creed among themselves, and give it out to the World under the name of the *Sirmian Creed*. In which they condemn and reject the use of the words *soia*, *ομοιον* and *ομοιουν* in the Christian Church, both because not warranted by Scripture, and because such Mysteries transcend the knowledge and comprehension of humane Understandings. The consequence of which (as St. *Hilary* truly observes) was, that by shutting out the word *Homousios*, it must be Decreed either that he was a Creature made out of nothing, or out of another Substance uncreated, and distinct from the Divine Nature. And by the profession of our ignorance of his Divine Generation, that we plainly declare, that we do not certainly know that he is the Son of God, both which consequences being so dangerous, and so

evi-

evident, it could not but encrease the Zeal not only of the Orthodox Fathers, but the *Eusebians*, against such an undermining Creed. But the *Valentians* having now discover'd themselves, endeavour to make their Party as strong as they can, and among other confiding friends send their Creed to *Eudoxius*, a very ill Man that had by the Patronage of the Eunuchs seized the great Bishoprick of *Antioch*, as the sense of the Western Church, and with the Title of the *Sirmian Faith*, and he being an eager admirer of *Aetius*, that had outbid the *Photinian* Heresie in daring and boldness, embraces it with great greediness, and calls a Council at *Antioch* to abet and ratifie this Western Faith, and writes back Letters of thanks to *Valens* and *Ursacius* for settling the right Faith in those Parts. Of all which proceedings *George* Bishop of *Laodicea*, an Eminent *Eusebian*, informs *Basilus* of *Ancyra*, and the Bishops that were then Assembled with him upon occasion of Consecrating a new Church there founded by him, and begs that they would give their assistance to deliver the Church of *Antioch*, and indeed the whole Christian Church from a such malignant Heresie. With all which they being surpris'd, supposing

The faithful
Sand. takes
no notice
of all this,
but only
says that
they con-
demn'd both
ὁμοούσιος
and
ἀρόμοιους

that all things had been duly and fully settled in their late Council at *Sirmium*, but instead of that they now find a forged and counterfeit Creed thrust upon them, and therefore they immediately condemn it in Twelve smart Propositions, draw up a new Creed, in which they restore the word *ὁμοία*, which the forged Creed of *Valens* had exploded, and affirm the Son to be like the Father both in Substance and in all things; send it by *Basilius* and other Legates to the Emperor, with a request that the determinations of the *Sirmian* Council might be ratified by Imperial Edict. he receives both it and them with all possible kindness, is in a great passion against *Valens* and his Conventicle, and damns their forged Confession by publick Edict. From all which it is more then evident, That this Creed of *Valens* was not drawn up in the *Sirmian* Council, as the Historians unanimously mistake; but after its dissolution by a rump Faction that continued in the City, and that appears plain enough without all this proof by the Preamble to it, viz. Seeing a Dispute about the Faith has been thought convenient, all things have been diligently examin'd and Discus't at *Sirmium* in the presence of *Valens*, *Ursacius*, *Germi-*
nus,

nus and others. So that it was not the Act of the Council, but of a few Bishops that protested against it, who by it so nettled the Eastern Bishops that had been present at the Council, that they immediately meet again in Council to condemn the Imposture and restore the true *Sirmian* Faith. And yet for all this it is unanimously agreed by all Writers both Ancient and Modern, even those who acknowledge that this Second Creed was not made till after the Council, that this was the very Creed subscribed by the great *Hosius* in the Council. But methinks though we had wanted this forcible exception against it, that he could subscribe no such Creed in Council because none such there was to be subscribed, yet such an enormous Apostacy should not be so easily believed of a Man so Great, so Good, so Wise, the very Father of the Church in that Age, that had for so many years managed all the great Affairs of *Christendom*, presided in all the great Councils Eastern and Western, should at last quit the faith, that he had so long contended for. And therefore *Baronius* bemoans his fall with
Ad Annum
357. n. 17.
most sorrowful Accents to the Tune of,
How are the Mighty fallen; and his compassion had not been ill placed, had it been well grounded, for though all Men from
I i 4 that

that very Age to this very day have run away with the truth of the Story as a thing unquestionable, yet if we trace it up to its very beginning, we shall find it not only destitute of any competent Authority, but grounded upon an Information apparently false and inconsistent with the most evident Records of the Church. And that is the Forgery of *Valens* and his Associates who disperse the Decree of their Conventicle into all parts of the Christian World, as the Creed of the *Sirmian* Council and all that consented to it, and in all probability with *Hofius* his name in particular annexed to it to give the greater blow by his Authority to the *Athanasian* Party, of which he was the great Oracle, and this they might do with more advantage then they had spread their former Lyes, in that he had after great struggling and resistance complied with the Council, and they had publish'd this Creed as the result of it, and then it was but an easie and plausible addition to it that this was the very thing that he had complied with. And this being blown abroad with so much confidence must for some time pass without controll, and gaining the belief of some few honest Men upon the first surprize, has ever since supported it self

self upon their Authority. This is all the Foundation that this Story has or can have, though I very much suspect it has not so much, but relies altogether upon one mans mistake, I am sure it does upon his Authority, and that is *St. Hilary*, at a time when he could have no competent Information of the matter, for he was then in Banishment in a distant part of the World, and being there informed that *Hofius* was present at the Council, and reconcil'd with the *Eusebians* upon some complacency to the Council, and being withal inform'd of this Creed that its Contrivers had given out as the very Creed of the Council, it was natural and easie to conclude that the Subscription to this Creed was the Condition upon which *Hofius* was reconciled. And this mistake was so easie to a man in his Circumstances, that it was almost unavoidable, for as he was at a great distance, so he writ this upon the Information that *Valens* and his Party had sent themselves into the East, and therefore when this Creed was sent by them as the Creed of the Council, and when *Hofius* was present at it and subscribed something to the satisfaction of the *Eusebian* Party, it was natural to suppose that it was upon his Subscription to this Creed. And this is all the Authority upon

upon which the Credit of a Story so incredible relies; for all the following Writers could have no Information but from him, and as he is the only Founder of the Story, so he fell into the surmise upon crude and remote Information. And that he was very ill inform'd about the *Sirmian* Creed is evident from the account he gives of the Subscriptions to it, where among others he reckons up *Basilus*, *Silvanus* and others who were so far from subscribing that Creed, that they were not present when it was framed, and as soon as they heard of it, condemned it with as much detestation as St. *Hilary* himself. Neither indeed could this drop from St. *Hilary's* own Pen, who very well knew and has given the most accurate account of the Proceedings of *Basilus*, *Silvanus* and others at *Ancyra* against the false Creed of *Sirmium*, and therefore could not possibly so far forget himself as to set it down for their contrivance. So that this addition must have been foisted in by some peevish and unskillful follower of *Lucifer Calaritanus*, who was angry with the reconciliation of the divided Parties, and equally offended both with the Orthodox and with the *Eusebians* that had United against the *Anomæans*; and I am very apt to suspect that

In *Fragm.*
Hil. p. 458.

that most of the reflecting passages in St. *Hilary* were foisted in by some such hand, and particularly the Title prefixt to this Creed, *Exemplum blasphemix apud Sirmium per Osium & Potamium conscriptæ*; for there is no such Title in any other Author, it is set down b th by *Athanasius* and *Socrates* without any mention of the name of *Hosius*. But however that is, it is evident from *Athanasius* himself, that the imposture of the second *Sirmian* Creed was not then well understood, for he sets it down in the second Creed made by the same Council that drew up the first, whereas it was made by a Faction in defiance of it, and imposed upon the World under the false Title of the *Sirmian* Creed, which it seems was swallowed by *Athanasius* in *Africk* as it was by St. *Hilary* in *Asia*, but that it was the Creed of *Hosius* is the singular Dream of St. *Hilary* or his forging *Luciferian*, for that it was not St. *Hilary's* own Censure appears from a surly passage annexed to it. *Sed de eo [Hosio] nihil queror : qui idcirco est reservatus, ne judicio humano ignoraretur qualis antè vixisset.* ' But I shall not complain of him, seeing he was preserved, to let the World know what a life he has lived. Which implies him to have been a wicked and scandalous Person, which St. *Hilary* nor no man else

else unless a railing *Luciferian* could ever say of *Hosius*, which one dirty reflection is enough to spoil the Credit of the whole Story, in that it betrays the hand from whence it dropt, and the same is to be said of his Book against *Constantius*, where we find the same Calumny repeated. For how Learned Men came to let that Book pass among St. *Hilary's* Genuine Works I cannot understand, when it so plainly betrays its own Forgery, first in that the Author of it excuses himself for having never appear'd before in this Controversie, whereas St. *Hilary* had written his 12 Books *de Trinitate*, his Book *de Synodis*, and two Apologies to *Constantius*. Secondly, It is pretended to have been written after the death of *Constantius*, and yet it speaks of things that were transacting at the time of its

* *At nunc pugnamus contra persecutorem, fallentem, contra hostem blandientem, contra Constantiam Antichristum.*

passage out of St. *Athanasius* his own Apology, in which he tells the Emperour that

writing * as done in the time of his reign. Thirdly, a considerable part of it is stoln out of *Lucifer Calaritanus*, viz. Where he justifies his rudeness to the Emperour by the Example of the *Macca-bees*. Fourthly, the Author of it has filch't a

that he had taken more pains against *Athanasius* then against the *Persians*; and therefore it must have been written by some later Rhapsodist when *Athanasius* his Books were grown common, whereas St. *Hilary* does not seem to have been at all acquainted with them.

Lastly * he charges *Constantius* with owning and abetting with all his power the Creed of *Valens* and *Ursacius*, when it is so very well known that he used all his power to oppose it. But beside all these reasons, though I am no Critick, yet I cannot but discern that Treatise to be so utterly unlike the Spirit and Genius of

that Father, that if he would have set his own Wit to mock and burlesque his own way of writing, he could not have writ so unlike himself. As will appear to any one that will but compare it with the remaining fragments of his two other Apologies. For beside the scabby imitation of his Stile, the roughness of the matter was utterly inconsistent with his smooth and gentle way of Address, and perfectly betrays the

* *Mandas tibi subscriptiones, Afrorum, quibus blasphemia Ursacii et Valentis condemnaverant, reddi: renitentibus comminaris, & postremum ad diripiendos mitis.*

the rough hand of some *Luciferian Esau*. For all the Schismatics of that Splenetick Sect kept up the rudeness of their Founder, and so were very abusive in all their Writings, and particularly sawcy in their expressions to Sovereign Princes: but most of all addicted to forge and divulge ill-natur'd Stories against all that they hated, but of all men they both owed and paid their greatest spite to the Memory of *Hosius*, because he was the first man that condescended to an accommodation with the *Eusebians*, upon their anathematizing the Arian Heresie. Whereas *Lucifer Calaritanus* the Father of their Sect, was so far from submitting to any terms of Reconciliation, that he would not so much as accept them to Communion upon repentance, and upon this account separated himself from the Catholick Communion, and made that ill natur'd Schism, that his petulant followers were forced to keep up by Stories and Calumnies against the Catholicks; but as for *Hosius* the head of their Enemies, he must not only do wicked things, but he must be punish't for them by the immediate hand of God, and of this we have a remarkable Story still remaining in *Isidore Hispalensis*, that after his Apostacy and Persecution at *Sirmium*, *Gregory a Lucife-*
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rian Bishop of *Fliberis* refused Communion with him at his return home, at which he falls into a Passion, resolves to procure his Banishment, and in order to it goes about to Excommunicate him, but as he is denouncing the Sentence, he is struck dead by *Gregory's* Prayers. But though the Learned Annalist has left this great Man under the guilt of his Apostacy, he has been so kind as to rescue him from its Punishment, because this Testimony of *Isidore* is apparently too late, in that he lived at the distance of above two hundred years from *Hosius*, whereas there is no mention of any such Prodigy in all the Ancient or Contemporary Writers, but on the contrary they all speak honourably of him after his death. *Athanasius* who has occasion often to mention him when dead always does it with the same respect that he treated him when alive, which he could never have done, had he perisht by so remarkable a Judgment, so that the first Authors of this Story were in all probability *Marcellinus* and *Faustinus*, two Schismatical *Luciferian* Presbyters in the Reign of *Theodosius*, that then threw out a Famous Libel stuff't with Dirt and Calumny, not only against *Hosius*, but *St. Hilary*, and all the other Orthodox Bishops,

Ad Annum.
357. n. 30.

shops, and from them *Isidore* pick't up the Story. But to return to the Council of *Sirmium* and conclude this Vindication of *Hofius*, as I have sufficiently taken off the Testimony of *St. Hilary*, both from the uncertainty of the Record and the incompetency of his Information, so I think I can destroy it by the Testimony of one greater then he, and that is *Athanasius*, who as he was the man most concern'd in all this business, so he understood it best, and has left the best and only accurate account of it to Posterity, and yet in the Story of the *Sirmian* Council all that he relates of *Hofius* his compliance is only this, that with long hard usage and great severity, the Emperour at last with much difficulty brought him to this, that he should own Communion with *Valens* and *Ursacius*, but so as not to subscribe against *Athanasius*; this is all the Story that he tells of this foul matter, though he seems to suggest in his Apology, as if he had for some time forsook him, through violence of torture, but not one Syllable of his Subscription to any Creed, much less that of *Valens* and his Party, which *Hilary* might take to be the Creed of the Council, because they gave it out to be so, so that in the result of all there is so little

little Evidence of his subscribing that Bastard-Creed, that there is plainly none of his making any Subscription at all, all that is certainly known is that he was present at the Council, by force reconciled to the *Eusebians*, and so dismiss'd home. But though the Testimony of *St. Hilary* were clear and certain, and though it were not controlled by the stronger Testimony of *St. Athanasius*, there is one plain Argument that evidently demonstrates that whatever the Compliance or Subscription of *Hofius* was, it had nothing to do with *Valens* his Creed because whatever it was, he was forced to it; as all Writers agree by the Emperours threatnings and torments, whereas the Emperour was so far from ever being so zealously concern'd for this Creed at the Council, that it was framed both out of the Council and without his knowledge, and as soon as he understood any thing of it by the Bishops that were present at the Council, he condemn'd it with great Passion and Displeasure, and therefore setting aside all Evidences from Testimony, this one Argument alone is an Eternal baffle to the Story how well soever attested. So that after this I need not trouble my self or the Reader with discovering the mistakes of the Historians, because

because the thing it self proves them so, as when *Socrates* and *Sozomen* say that he was brought by force to subscribe the Creeds of the Council, the ground of their mistake is apparent, in that they supposed the Council to have made three Forms of Faith, when it made but one. As for *Ruffinus* and *Sulpitius Severus*, I regard them not either in this or any other part of the *Arian* History, especially the latter who has committed as many faults through carelessness, as *Philostorgius* and his Lacquey *Sandius* have through wilful dishonesty. I have insisted the longer upon this particular Subject because it grieved me to see the reputation of so great a Man that had shined so long in the Christian Church to be thought at last to set in so much dishonour, and that so great a blemish should so easily pass upon him through all Ages meerly through mistake and carelessness. But having so fully clear'd him of the foul Calumny laid to his Charge, I may now proceed to do what Service I can of the same nature to Pope *Liberius*, who too Poor Man! has had much harder usage upon this occasion then he really deserved, and that from the same Fountain, *viz.* A blind Testimony of *St. Hilary* and a bold Lye of *Valens* and his Faction, the first has

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let fly three Anathema's for his Apostacy, to which *Baronius* replies, that they were none of his, but foisted into him by some later hand: It may be so, and in truth very little stress is to be laid upon those confused Fragments, but then he might have pleaded the same thing in behalf of *Hosius*, whereas he has taken great pains to condemn *Hosius*, and acquit *Liberius* by the Authority of *St. Hilary*, which is by no means fair dealing, when by the same shift wherewith he eludes the Testimony of *Liberius*, he might if he had pleased have taken off the Evidence against *Hosius*, which yet he has urged with the utmost severity against him, though with what candour and justice is evident from the Premises. And as their case was the same as to the Testimony of *St. Hilary*, so was it as to the lyes and slanders of the *Eusebians*, who at the same time when they boasted of *Hosius* his rejecting the Consubstantiality, if we may believe *Sozomen*, they make the very same brags of *Liberius*, as if he too had made the same Declaration. l. 4. c. 15. But though they had Ten Thousand Testimonies against him, and as many more flying Reports, his Innocence clears it self by his own actings, for the true account of his whole compliance is

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best stated and understood from his own Epistles, where it is as express as words can make it; that he desired to be restored upon his Subscription to the Faith of the *Sirmian* Council, and yielding to the Condemnation of *Athanasius*: And what is that to *Valens* his Faith forged in his own Conventicle after the conclusion of the Council? But though it be an easie matter to clear him of all suspicion of Heresie, yet we shall not be able to bring off his integrity with that clearness that we have *Hosius*. For if *Hosius* had done what was laid to his charge, it was all done by force and compulsion, whereas *Liberius* his compliance was a Free-will-offering; he courted the *Ense-bians* to be admitted into their Association against his friend and fellow Sufferer *Athanasius*, he boasted of his forwardness in it, he over and over tender'd his Subscription against him, and all this in humble and submissive Addresses, with this Petition at the Tail of all, That he might be restored to his Bishoprick; may he condescended so very low as to flatter and fawn upon such vile wretches as *Valens* and *Ursacius*. All which was an utter forfeiture of all manner of ingenuity, for what could be more dirty and dishonest then to join so frankly with

with such perjur'd Villains in the ruine of an innocent Person, only that himself might escape scot-free from their malice? So that whereas this Fact of *Liberius* has been the subject of a long and fierce Contention between the Friends and the Enemies of the present Church of *Rome*, those being much concern'd and puzzled to clear him from falling into *Arianism*, because that would utterly spoil their modern Doctrine of Papal Infallibility, and these for the same reason labouring as hard to bring him under the guilt of that foul and scandalous Apostacy; in my poor Opinion one side might spare their fears, and the other their pains, for there was nothing of the *Arian* Heresie in all this Transaction: The Creed that he Subscribed could be no other then the first in this Council against *Photinus*, which not only came up fully to the Sense of the *Nicene* Creed, though it wanted the word *ὁμοοι*, but declared much more expressly against the *Arian* Heresie in its 27 Anathema's annexed to it, then which there is not a fuller protestation against it upon Record, though the first would have been sufficient alone, viz. If any Man say that the Son existed out of nothing, or out of any other substance,

and is not God of God, or that there was a time when he was not, let him be banisht the Catholique Church. But as for his delivering up *Athanasius* into the hands of his Enemies, thereby to purchase his own liberty, though it was a base and dishonourable action to Sacrifice so brave a Man to his own private Convenience, yet that was all, it was not disowning the truth, much less opposing it, he all along stood firm in his defiance to the *Arian* Faction, and with it concludes his very Letter to *Valens* and *Ursacius*, where after a Protestation of his Integrity in what he had there declared, he adds, *Præparatori Anathema unâ cum Arianis à me dictum*. And now having thus clear'd the perplext controversy concerning the Faith of the *Sirmian* Council, and the Subscription of these two great Men to it, we may proceed in the Series of our Story.

§. XVI. *Valens* and his Conventicle having put that impudent Sham upon the Council, as to contrive a new Creed, that discarded all the bars against *Arianism*, and publish it to the World under the Authority of the Council it self, this so gauled *Basilus* and the old *Eusebians*, who flatter'd themselves with this conceit,

conceit, that after all their Travels they had now at last settled all things, and united all Parties by asserting a *likeness* though not an *Identity* in substance, against the new Sect of the *Anomæans*, who were so far from owning any thing like to equality between Father and Son, that they held a perfect dissimilitude of Natures (so endless a thing is Metaphysics, when Men have a mind to be peevish or wanton) And here begins the new Controversie (as *Epiphanius* observes) of *Homousians* and *Homoiousians* against the *Anomæans*. And indeed it is the first time that I know of, that we hear of the different Parties of the *Homousians* and *Homoiousians* ; and if we may rely upon the report of *Socrates*, they never avowedly distinguish themselves by those two words, till after the Council of *Seleucia*, though it is plain that the first occasion of it was given by the Council of *Antioch*, that was conven'd on purpose to contrive a Creed more comprehensive then that of *Nice*, and therefore instead of asserting the *Consubstantiality* of Father and Son, for the satisfaction of all Parties, it defines the Son to be * *The*
unchangeable Image * τῆς Θεότητος ὁμοῖος
of the Divinity and τῷ τῷ πατρὶ ἀπαρ-
 K k 4 ράματι,

ῥαλλαντων εἰκόνα.

Substance of the Father. But from the time of the *Sirmian* Council this new Controversie is carried on both by the *Homousians* and *Homoiousians* against the *Anomæans*, and it was but high time when they began to out-bid the *Arians*, especially when *Aetius* had about this time vented his new Heresie, viz. That the Son was so far from being either of the same or the like Substance with the Father, that he was unlike him in all things, in which the bold Mechanick went beyond all the former *Anomæans*, that held only a dissimilitude of Nature, but a likeness of Will, whereas this new Heretique positively avers an unlikeness both of Nature and Will. He was by Trade a Goldsmith in *Antioch*, but being a very pert and conceited Citizen, and troubled as *Photius* expresses it in the description of him, with a certain Disease called τῆς γλώσσης ἡ ἀκερασία, an intemperance of prating, he would needs set up for a thing of Learning, and having got a little smattering in *Aristotle's* Logique, the next thing was to be an Heretique too, and so first declares for *Arius*, and spends his time in running up and down to dispute with the Divines of the City, and at length grew so

so troublesome and impertinent in all Company that the Pedant was kickt out of Town. But having the honour of a publick Affront, instead of being out of countenance, he grows proud that he should be so considerable as to be at all taken notice of, and so resolves to leave his Master *Arius*, and set up a new Heresie of his own, and so became the very *Muggleton* of the Age. His great Admirers *Philostorgius* and *Sandius* are so foolish as to tell us strange Stories of his profound skill in Philosophy, and all the Learned Languages; and yet in the same page tell us again, That after he was driven and affronted out of *Antioch*, he fled to *Anazarbus* in *Cilicia*, and there learnt his Grammar till his School-Master kickt him again out of doors for his sawcy and malepert behaviour towards him; after which he wanders up and down to brawl and dispute with all Men of fame for Learning, and having the misfortune to be once overcome at disputation in the Isle of *Sicily*, he resolved (to be short) to hang himself, had he not been warned by an Angel in a Vision, that he should be endued with invincible Wisdom, and never more be vanquisht in disputation. Upon this he takes heart and repairs to *Alexandria*, to

to encounter the great. *Aphthonius*, the then admir'd Man, both for Subtiley and Eloquence, and at the very first Rencontre disputes him to death. And when the mighty Hero had Conquer'd all the Giants of disputation, he grows so generous as to turn Quack, and kill of free-cost. And last of all he creeps into Deacons Orders by the help of *Eudoxius*, who was lately made Bishop of *Antioch* by the help of the Eunuchs, and being an ignorant and unlearned Man, had the ill-fortune to admire this Mechanick Fop, but being got into Orders, he leaves his own Countrey to reside at *Alexandria*, because it was necessary, forsooth, that some body should be there, who was able to cope with the great *Athanasius*; and after a while he is falsely accused to *Gallus*, by *Basilus* and *Eustathius*, two great Bishops that he had baffled in disputation, but he acquitted himself so well, that *Gallus* took him for his own Chaplain, after whose death these spiteful Bishops accuse him again to *Constantius* as privy to *Gallus* his Conspiracy against him, and he being deliver'd by the Emperor into their hands, they banish him to *Pepusa* in *Phrygia*. This Tale, as ridiculous as it is, is the fairest Story that they could raise to the

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memory of this little Heretique. Tho' the Truth of the whole matter is, that he was a meer Fanatique, for being conscious to himself of his want of Education, and having a mind to be thought something in the World, he pretends an immediate Revelation from God of all things that he had kept secret from the Apostles, particularly a perfect knowledge of the Divinity, viz. That the Son was so far from being of the same or the like Substance with the Father (as the Church had taught from the time of the Apostles) that he was unlike him in all things. Now *Basilus* and the old *Eusebians* being alarm'd partly with the spreading of this new Heresie by the Patronage of *Eudoxius* Bishop of *Antioch*, and partly with the late prevarication of *Valens* and his Companions, but most of all by that League that they were making among themselves, they certifie the Emperor of all these bold endeavours to break in pieces his late settlement of Union, of which he was so fond, and had endeavour'd so many years, at present he declares against them with all possible keenness of Zeal, but in order to their final Extirpation resolves once more upon a general Council, and first appoints it to meet at *Antioch*, but before the set time

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of Meeting the City was destroyed by an Earth-quake, which (says *Philostorgius* according to his Partial and Fanatic way of writing) befell them as a Judgment from Heaven, because most of the Inhabitants of the City were *Homousians*. But upon its destruction several other places are mention'd, though none could be agreed on, so that the very place for the Council became a tedious matter of debate ; and *Basilus* with the Eastern Bishops, by whose motion it was resolved upon, are sent for by the Emperor to *Sirmium* to advise about it, where they luckily meet with *Valens* and his Western Associates, and falling into a Conference before the Emperor about the present Controversies, after a long dispute till late at night, they at last by the Emperours Motion agree upon a new accommodation to gratifie all Parties among themselves, *i. e.* Not to affirm the Son to be like the Father in Substance : And this was to please *Valens* and his Party, who had exploded the word *Substance* out of their Creed, but to be like him in all things ; and this could not but satisfie *Basilus* and his Party, for if he were like him in all things, he must be so in Substance, and upon this they agree upon the Reconciling Creed,

Germinii
Ep. in Hi-
lar. frag.
p. 455.

Creed, commonly called the third *Sirmian* Creed, for which they were so much laugh'd at, and of which they were so soon ashamed, for dating it according to the year of the Consuls, *Eusebius* and *Hypatius*, whereas all former Councils were never wont to set any Date to their Creeds, thereby implying their settlement from the Beginning. But these piecings never hold firm, for when they came to subscribe their Creed, *Valens* would have shuffled, writing only, that the Son was like the Father, but was forced by the Emperor to add in all things, and *Basilus* suspecting the fraud that might lye under these general words, subjoins to his own Subscription, When I say that the Son is like the Father in all things, I mean not in *Will* only, but in *Substance*. But that was no more then his own protestation, for *Valens* having gain'd a Creed without the word *Substance*, he had gain'd his point, and so lays it up safe till he had occasion to use it for his own purpose. After this they agree to divide the Council into two parts, probably out of Jealousie one of another, one to sit at *Ariminum* for the ease of the Western Bishops, and the other at *Seleucia* in *Isauria* for the ease of the Eastern. At *Ariminum* meet above

Epiphau.
Herf. 73.
N. 22.

bove 400 Bishops, though *Sandius*, like himself says above 1000, thus Men that accustom themselves to lying, will often lye to no purpose. Of these there were not above 50 of *Valens* his Party, as *Athanasius* affirms, or at most not above 80, as *Severus*; but being emboldned by their late new Creed at *Sirmium*, whereby they had at length shaken off all the Clogs, that had been hitherto fastened on them to hinder their return to *Arianism*, and being assured that the Emperor would back their motion with all his Zeal and Power, they step forth and move for the Union and Satisfaction of all Parties, that all former Creeds might be abolisht, and that their late Creed agreed upon at *Sirmium*, and approved by his Imperial Majesty, might be establisht for ever, and that for the time to come no such strict Inquisition should be made into Mens Opinions, that does but breed Quarrels and Animosities in the Church. But the Fathers being too well satisfied by so many experiments that had been made in this Princes Reign, that nothing would ever be able to stop out the *Arian* Heresie, but the *Nicene* Faith, and now seeing all those fences that had been raised against it by so many Councils broke down

Sox. l. 4.
c. 17.

down and leapt over, and the Christian Church like to be turn'd into a Common for the entertainment of all Heresies without restraint or distinction, resolve to make short work of it, and therefore tell them, that they came not there to make new forms of Faith, but were satisfied with the Faith that they had received from their Fore-fathers, and that their present business was to make enquiry whether any thing were innovated against it, and remove it, and therefore demand of them for clearing themselves of any such design to subscribe the Condemnation of the *Arian* Heresie, which they refusing, the Synod proceeds, to have the *Nicene* Faith, and that alone Establisht for ever, and Decree that for the time to come it should never be call'd in question, it being an absurd thing to be always making new Faiths, as if they were but now beginning to believe. Their Resolution, and the Title prefixt to it being very remarkable, I shall set them down in their own words. The Title runs thus, *Incipit definitio Catholica habita ab omnibus Catholicis Episcopis, priusquam per terrenam potestatem terri, Hæreticorum consortio sociarentur in Concilio Ariminensi.* The Decree thus,

Apud Frag.
Hilarii, p.
488.

Sic

Sic credimus placere omnibus posse Catholicis à Symbolo accepto nos credere non oportere, quod in collatione apud omnes integrum recognovimus: nec à fide recessuros, quam per Prophetas à Deo Patre per Christum Dominum nostrum, docente Spiritu Sancto, & in Evangeliiis & in Apostolis omnibus suscepimus, ut per traditionem Patrum secundum successionem Apostolorum usque ad tractatum apud Nicæam habitum; contra hæresin quæ tunc temporis exurrexerat, positum nunc usque permanet. Quibus omnibus nec addendum aliquid creditum nec minui posse manifestum est. Placet ergo nihil novum fieri; substantiæ quoque nomen & rem à multis sanctis scripturis insinuatam mentibus nostris obtinere debere sui firmitatem. Quam rem tum suo nomine Ecclesia Catholica cum doctrinâ deificâ semper confiteri & profiteri consuevit. This is a brave resolution, and becoming the courage of such a Venerable Assembly, if they had stood to it. To this Decree they demand *Valens* and his followers to submit themselves, but they refuse and stand up on their late Imperial Faith, and so are all deposed. Of all which they certify the Emperour in a Synodical Epistle, in which they give him this reason of their resolution of sticking to the *Nicene Faith*. *Quæ sola hostis & interfectrix Arianae*

Hæreseos;

Hæreseos, in quâ certè & addere aliquid temerarium est, & auferre periculosum: quorum si alterutrum fiat, erit hostibus quilibet agendi libera facultas. Because that alone cut the Throat of the *Arian* Heresie, so that to add any thing to it or diminish any thing from it, would open a gap to the Enemies to break down all; and of the same Opinion was *St. Hilary* at last, though he had been formerly for framing new Creeds to way-lay new Heresies; *Fides quæ apud Nicæam ordinata est, plena atque perfecta est, & omnibus undique quibus irrepere hæretici solent, additis obseratis, inviolabili inter Patrem & Filium æternæ unitatis soliditate connectitur.* This was the result of this Great Council, and yet though there are so many clear and undoubted Records of it, *Philostorgius* and *Sandius* are so insatuated as to tell us that the Fathers of this Council unanimously agreed in rejecting the Homœousian Faith, and *Sandius* adds, that they condemned the Council of *Nice* as diabolical. But immediately after this Vote of *No Faith* after the *Nicene*, *Valens* and his Associates leave the Council, and before the Legates could come to the Emperour, they inform him of the stubbornness of the Council in rejecting his own Imperial Creed, and to aggravate

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IN FRAG.
Hil. p. 447.

h. 2. p. 21.

the affront setting up against it his old Enemy *Homoousios*, so that after twenty years War that his Majesty had waged against it, they had given it much greater Strength and Authority then it ever had before, by Votings it perpetual and unchangeable. Upon this finding his project that he had been so long in hatching, and as he thought had brought to some life, so unexpectedly dash't to nothing, it swells his Choler into Rage and Madness, and he now vows never more to be baffled, and though he was always as *Ammianus* describes him, *inexorabilis suae Autoritatis index*, an implacable exacter of Obedience, from this time forward his Reign was nothing but Force and Tyranny. And in the first place he will neither admit the Legates of the Council into his presence, nor dismiss the Council it self, but writes a surly Letter, in which he only bids them to wait for an Answer till his return from the War with the *Barbarians*, * which was done by the advice and contrivance of *Valens* and his Associates to tire out the poor old Bishops that desired to return home to their Charges, and at length to demolish this new Sconce that they had raised against the Heresie. But all in vain, for by this rough and careless answer they sufficiently

* *Theodor.*
112. c. 19.

ciently understood his meaning, and so *Soc. l. 2. c. 29.* send a bold and peremptory Letter to assure him, that let him do what he would they were resolved never to depart from their resolution, and therefore Petition to be immediately dismiss'd. But for all that he leaves them in Council all Winter to blow their Fingers, and cool their Resolutions till his return from the War. In the mean time at the Request of *Valens* and his fifty Men he commands themselves to *Thod. l. 2. c. 21.* repair to the City of *Nice* in *Thrace*, namesake to that in *Bithynia*, and decoy along with them as many Bishops as they could pick up through weakness or Cowardise, and there Vote his own Form for the standing and unalterable rule of Faith with the advantage of the Name of the *Nicene* Faith. All which is accordingly done, only they put a new trick upon his Credulity, for whereas his own Creed run thus, that the Son was like the Father in all things, they only set it down in the words of *Valens* as he would have subscribed it before the Emperour at *Sirmium*, that he was like the Father. This being done, they inform the Emperour that they had exactly obeyed his Commands that he laid upon them at his departure to his Wars, *ne quis usque vel homousii nomi-*

In Frag. Hilar.

nomina Ecclesie Dei ignota aliquando nominet, quod Scandalum inter fratres facere solet. With this the poor abused Emperour is fully satisfied, and as soon as he returns home, all that refuse to subscribe this new curtail'd Creed are banish't out of hand, particularly *Liberius of Rome* is sent to travel a Second time, but the Legates from the Orthodox Bishops at *Ariminum* are forced to a subscription, and at length most of the Bishops themselves are brought to a compliance, partly by the persuasions of *Valens* and his Friends to yield to the Emperours Will as a present expedient, and partly by their solemn and vehement Protestations against the *Arian* Heresie. And this is the very moment of time in which *St. Jerom* says, *Ingemuit totus Orbis, & Arianum se esse miratus est*, A passage quite worn out by our Innovators to prove an Apostacy of the Catholick Church from the true Faith. Whereas *St. Jerom* is so far from intimating any such Apostacy, that he only complains of it as a Cheat and Trap, which as soon as the Bishops understood, they did with infinite indignation disclaim their Subscriptions. So that the whole World was so far from being *Arian* at that time, that it was fall'n out with it self for being so weakly over-reach't and

*Adversus
Lucifer.*

and out-witted by an handful of *Arians*, who had drawn them in by their great Protestations and Professions against *Arianism* to subscribe such a loose and ambiguous Form of Faith as might let it in; otherwise as for the Creed it self himself pleads for it, *Nunquid hic insertum est, erat tempus quando non erat? vel de nullis extantibus Creatura est filius dei? Perfecta fides est Deum de Deo credere. Et natum aiebant unigenitum solum ex Deo Patre. Quid est natum? certe non factum: Nativitas suspicionem auferbat Creaturae.* In the next place he subjoyns several *Anathema's* so frankly pronounced at the same time by *Valens* and his Confederates against all parts of the *Arian* Heresie, that could not but prevent all Jealousie of any design to introduce it. But the Council being dismiss'd, *Valens* and his Party insult over the Orthodox Bishops, as if they had gain'd their point against the *Nicene Council*, *Dimisso Concilio ceperunt postea Valens & Ursacius cæterique nequitia eorum socii palmas suas jactitare, dicentes se filium non Creaturam negasse, sed similem cæteris creaturis, tum Usue nomen abolitum est. Tunc Nicæne fidei damnatio conclamata est, Ingemuit totus Orbis & Arianum se esse miratus est.* The Council being dissolved, *Valens* and

'*Ursacius* and the other Associates of
' their wickedness spread their Plumes,
' boasting that they had not denied the
' Son of God to be a Creature, but to be
' like the other Creatures, then was the
' Name of Substance abolish't, then was the
' overthrow of the *Nicene* Faith proclaim-
' ed, then did the whole World groan and
' admire to see it self become *Arian*. But
were they so? No so far from that, that
as soon as the Cheat was discovered, they
run about like so many mad Men, tearing
their hair and taking the Sacrament upon
it, that by suspecting no harm they were
merely over-reacht by wicked men,
and abhorred that ill use that *Valens*
and his Villains had made of their
Condescention, and begg'd pardon
of the World for their Folly and

Hieron. ib.

Easiness. Concurrerant Episcopi qui Ari-
minensibus dolis irretiti sine conscientia hæ-
retici ferebantur, contestantes corpus domi-
ni, & quicquid in Ecclesiâ sanctum est, se
nihil mali in sua fide suspicatos. Putavi-
mus, dicebant, sensum congruere cum ver-
bis; nec in Ecclesiâ Dei, ubi simplicitas,
ubi pura confessio est, aliud in corde clausum
esse, aliud in labiis proferri timuimus. Dece-
pit nos bona de malis existimatio, non sumus
arbitrati sacerdotes Christi adversus Chri-
stum pugnare. This is their Protestation, and
how

how well they made it good we shall see
in the next Reign, but however evident it
is that St. *Jeram* never intended by this
passage (as it is vulgarly abused) that
Arianism had really prevailed over the
Orthodox World, but on the contrary
that the *Orthodox* World was astonish't
to see it self over-reacht by it. And so
ended this great Council of *Ariminum* in
meer fraud and violence. And that in
the management of Church Affairs, as
long as our Saviour's own settlement of
it in the whole Body of Christian Bishops
is regarded, can never come to any last-
ing effect (though an Ecclesiastical Mo-
narchy is as lyable to corruptions and abu-
ses as any other State or Government)
and particularly with how much ease and
no power, but that of the Church it
self, all these mighty Contrivances were
brought to nothing, we shall see in the
Reign of *Julian*.

§. XVII. But as ill as the Council of
Ariminum concluded, that of *Seleucia*
ended worse, and came to nothing but
bawling, tumult, and confusion, for it
consisted of two Parties, that fearing
one anothers Accusations they both en-
deavour'd to disturb all Proceedings, till
that point of enquiring into Mens lives
was laid aside, and that being obtain'd
they

they proceed to enquire and determine of Faith, but as the Council of *Arminium* consisted of *Catholicks* and *Arians*, this was made up of *Acacians*, that followed the Blasphemy of *Aetius*, and the old *Eusebians* that approved all things in the Council of *Nice*, but the word *Consubstantial*, whereas the *Acacians* defied the Council it self and all its Decrees, and must have not only the word *Consubstantial* but that of *Substance* too abolished. But to prevent this the *Eusebians* at the motion of *Silvanus* set up the *Antiochian* Creed for the Standard of Orthodoxy, and depose all that refuse subscription to it, *Acacius* and his Party on the contrary give in a Libel in which they equally condemn all unscriptural words, & anathematise their own Doctrine of *Dissemblance*, that they might the better condemn their Adversaries, for that they knew would take with the Emperour to take away the discriminating words of all Parties. But when this new Faith was read, *Sophronius* an *Eusebian* cries out, if we must be making new Faiths every day, in a little time we shall have none at all. But to that it is replied by *Acacius*, If you laid aside the *Nicene* Faith for yours at *Antioch*, why may not we lay aside yours for one more unexceptionable and thus were they caught in their own Snare for not acquiescing

in the first determination of the Church, and after the infinite turmoil of so many Councils they are now convinced of their own folly. But however they proceed on to wrangle so intemperately that *Leonas*, who was appointed by the Emperour to see things fairly managed, was so out of all patience, that he turn'd them out of doors, and bid them go trifle among themselves. So both Parties had their ends, having escaped each others Accusations, and established their own Doctrine with the formality of a Council. This being done both post to *Constantinople* to tell their own Story, but the *Acacians* coming first they so prepossess the Emperour with prejudice against his old friends as to engage him on their side against himself and his own opinion. They tell him that *Basilius* and the other Party were stiff and inflexible in their own determinations, and would yield nothing for the reconciling of Dissenting Parties, nor remove any of the Offensive Words that were the cause of all these Dissentions, not so much as that of *Dissemblance*; now they knew the Design of reconciling to be the Emperour's Darling, and the Doctrine of *Dissemblance* his particular aversion. Upon this he in great haste and fury calls a Council at *Constantinople* of Fifty Bishops, where these crafty men gain more

more ground for themselves by seeming to promote his great reconciling project, in order to which they present him with a Creed wide enough to take in all Parties, in which they banish not only the word, Substance, and Consubstantial, but that of Hypostasis, and though they held a Dissimilitude in Substance themselves, yet to blind him they now dissemble it, and by leaving it undetermined they serve his design of comprehension, and therefore instead of his own *Sirmian* Creed, That the Son was like the Father in all things, they put him off with this general and ambiguous Form, That the Son is like the Father in the sense of the Scriptures, *i. e.* as they believed, in Will, but not in Substance. Now this Creed was a meer contrivance to let in Aëtianism, of which of all Heresies the Emperour had the greatest abhorrence, yet such was his dotage and insatiation to compass his long look't for project, that he embraces it with both his hands, and all his heart. And grows so fond of the new Darling, that when his old Friends *Basilus* and *Silvanus* and the rest came he refused to hear them, and when *Basilus* thought he might freely discourse with him as he was wont to do, he commands him silence at his Peril as a distur-

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ber of the Churches Peace. Upon this *Eusebius* takes the confidence to inform the Emperour that those Men were not the Men that he took them to be, but were Aëtians, and held the Blasphemy of Dissimilitude, and this he proves particularly upon *Eudoxius* of *Antioch*. This turns the Tide of his Fury, and puts him into such a Storm that *Eudoxius* to appease it is forced to throw his Friend Aëtius into it, by laying the Book that *Eusebius* had laid to his own Charge at Aëtius his door. Upon this Aëtius is immediately sent for to Court, whither he repairs with all joy and speed, thinking of nothing but the praise that the Emperour would give him for his subtle knack at disputing, and no sooner comes into to the presence but upon the first question greedily owns himself Father of the Brat, and upon it is immediately banisht into *Phrygia* *. All his Adherents are required either to anathematise his Heresie or follow his Fortune, but they chose to quit both their friend and their opinion rather than their Bishopricks. But then they are soon quit with the *Eusebians* for putting the Emperour upon this Test, by propounding another for them that

* Though *Philostorgius* is so weak as to tell us that the only thing that provoked the Emperour to this severity, because Aëtius had banished his Friend *Basilus*.

that they knew would not pass, viz. to renounce the words Substance and *ὁμοούσιος*, this immediately takes the Emperour, and done it must be out of hand. To put this off *Silvanus* propounds that the *Acacians* may be made to renounce all the *Arian* Phrases, but they stick at nothing, and abjure them all. But then their Adversaries must abhor too, which refusing stiffly to do are thrust into banishment. But here the conclusion of all these Contests is very observable, for the last words that were spoke by *Silvanus* in behalf of himself and his Brethren, for not renouncing their own words, were these. *If God the Son exist neither from nothing, nor from any other substance, then he must be of the same substance with the Father.* And thus after all our tedious and long travel, are we just where we were at the beginning, for this was the very Argument approved by the Council of *Nice* for settling the word *ὁμοούσιος*, and now after twenty years contest against it, are those very Men that have all along made such stirs about it, forced to take it up again, and are convinced by so long experience that if they once quit the settled faith, there is no putting any stop to the Progress of extravagant Opinions. And after this *Arhanasius* notwithstanding all the troubles that they had so unjustly

given

given him, and all the ill Names that he had so justly given them, owns friendship with them and gives them the Title of Brethren, that he says differ from the Catholick Faith not in sense but in words; for when they acknowledge the Son to be of the Substance of the Father, and not of any other Substance, nor a Creature out of nothing, but the true Natural and Eternal Son of the Father, they are at a very little distance from owning the word consubstantial. But the Emperour is so in love with this new *Acacian* Faith, and so eager in pursuit of his old *Homoousian* Enemy, that he at last quits the Party that he had all his life-time with so much vehemence abetted, to joyn in with these very Men that he had always and even at this very time detested. And they having got him into their possession, they resolve to make their best bargain of him, and so fall to the old work of the *Eusebians*, Plunder and Sequestration, tell the Emperour Tales and Stories of their Enemies that had sat Bishopricks, and prevail with him to put his own friends out and put themselves in. And in the first place they turn *Macedonius* that Seditious incendiary out of *Constantinople*, and place *Eudoxius* of *Antioch*, the very *Hugh Peters* of that age for prophaneness, luxury & debauchery, in his See. And after the same

Soz. l. 4.
c. 24.

same manner that the *Eusebians* had ejected the *Catholiques*, so did they displace them, as *Basilus* of *Ancyra*, *Eustathius* of *Sebasta*, *Elenus* of *Cizicum*, *Dracontius* of *Pergamus*, *Silvanus* of *Tarsus*, *Sophronius* of *Pompeiopolis*, &c. And for their Malice they stood in little need of forgeries, the *Eusebians* being generally ill men, that came into the Church only for ease and preferment, no wonder then if they were so easily expell'd by these new *Sycophants*, when they were so obnoxious to the grossest immoralities, and such were the crimes charged upon them, as they are set down by *Sozomen* in the place above-cited.

And thus after all these windings and turnings to get loose from the *Nicene Creed*, is the cause run away by this upstart Sect, the very dreggs of Mankind, the *Acacians* being only the Rump of the *Eusebians*, that had supplanted them, as they had the *Catholiques* by out-reaching them in their own craft and wickedness, and that is the natural event of all sorts of Sedition, that the first Authors of it are at last devoured by their own spawn. But these Wretches having got the Power into their hands, as *Philostorgius* himself tells the story, they fall out among themselves, and endeavour to destroy each other by mutual Accusations. The great Tri-

lib. 6.

Triumvirate of the Party *Endoxius*, *Eunomius* and *Acacius* accuse one another, *Endoxius* falls foul upon *Eunomius*, and *Eunomius* upon him, and *Acacius* upon both, and slanders them to the Emperour, supposing that only to accuse without proof was enough with him, as it ever had been, to procure their condemnation; but he hapning in a grave fit to enquire into the merits of the cause, and *Acacius* having no proof to back his tale was forced to disappear. So that the Emperour still finding himself abused by a new pack of Cheats, resolves after all his disappointments to try one Council more, but whilst that was in consultation *Julian* rebels, and *Constantius* his heart breaks. And thus by his unskilful tampering with the Church, he leaves it at last buried and lost in its own confusions, for instead of making up the breaches of the Church, by this comprehensive and indefinite Creed of the *Acacians*, it was every where broke into tumult and civil War. In all Cities the People siding some with the ejected Bishops and some with the Intruders, and each party esteeming the other Hereticks, though for what neither knew, they set up distinct Communions, and that soon fills all places with Noise, Dispute, and Contention, and

and oftentimes with the fury and outrage of the Rabble. But the *Acacians* having got the mastery, they put off all disguise, and now publicly declare both for *Arianism* and *Acianism*. For *Meletius* one of their own party, whom they had made Bishop of *Antioch* for his zeal to the cause, turning Orthodox as it were out of spite, and preaching up the *Nicene* Faith, they assemble there in the year 360 in order to his deposition, and under that pretence take the opportunity of drawing up a new form of Faith. In which they not only dash out the likeness of the Son to the Father, as it was in their former Creed, but expressly declare a dissimilitude both in substance and will, this was the end of all this fatal Tragedy, and above thirty years contention about one word against the Authoritative determination of the Christian Church, and after all parties had tired themselves, *Arianism* a pert and ignorant Mechanick carries away the ball. "Thus

De Synod.
p. 907.

"far, says *Athanasius*, have they trifled away our Religion, and into what wild conceits they will wander no man can foresee, for there is no stop to be set to their Extravagance, till they shall return to themselves and say, let us return to our Fathers, Abhor the *Arianism*

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"an Heresy and embrace the *Nicene* Faith, for it is clear that all contention against this, let Men pretend what they will at top, is for the sake of that at bottom, and if men will not stick to the sacred determination, there is no way left to keep out the Heresy. Nor indeed all the follies in the world, for when once the Authority of the Church is despised, and this Itching humour of dispute broke out among the People, though the Civil Government keep their nails never so short, they will be always scratching and drawing blood of the Church. And thus was it here, for though the definition of the Council against the Heresy would have put an everlasting end to the Controversy, as it did during the reign of *Constantine*, yet when it was once laid aside by *Constantine*, to oblige and comprehend, (as he dream't) the Dissenters by some abatement, what endless factions did it create? *Eusebians*, *Aetians*, *Photians*, *Eudoxians*, *Acacians*, *Eunomians*, *Macedonians*, *Psaltyrians*, and *Dulians*, and that was the lowest folly that men could sink into; for after all the divisions and subdivisions of one from another, some of them came at last to affirm that Jesus Christ was so far from being the Son of God, that he

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was

1. 6. 2. was only his Serving-man. And this *Philostorgius* is not ashamed to tell us, was preached by his celebrated *Eunomius*, in the Cathedral Church of *Constantinople*.

But beside these wild Opiniatours, the Church by this Liberty was over-run with Swarms of *Enthusiasts*, the most dangerous of all Vermin; and this broke out chiefly among the Monks, and men of Devotion. In *Egypt* there was a Sect that thought it unlawful to void their Excrements, from that Text in *St. Matthew* 15. 11. *Not that which goeth into the mouth defileth a man, but that which cometh out of the mouth.* So easy is it to defile and prophane a sacred Text by applying it to the wrong end, and against these *Athanasius* writ his Epistle to *Ammon* the Monk. And others there were in *Palestine*, that beside many other freaks had this peculiar to themselves, that it was not lawful to pray, unless alone, from that passage of our Saviour, *Matth. 6. 6.* *When thou prayest enter into thy Closet, and when thou hast shut thy door, pray to thy Father which is in secret.* But not to follow the whole swarm of Breezes, the two Magots of great Note and Magnitude at that time were the *Massalians* in *Mesopotamia*, and the *Eustathians*

in *Armenia*. The *Massalians* first set up with this one Principle, That they were obliged to pray always, and so do nothing else, from that passage of our Lord in the Gospel of *St. Luke. 18. 1.* *That Men ought always to pray and not to faint.* From this conceit naturally issued such a swarm of absurdities, as eat up all other parts of Religion; for if this was the only necessary thing (and so they applied that saying of our Saviour to *Martha*) the two Sacraments and all other Dutys became useless, and they grew so drunk with self-conceit, that they pretended to see the Holy-Trinity with their bodily Eyes, and to be equal with Christ himself; sometimes they would dance upon the Devils, and sometimes they would shoot at them, and sometimes be taken with suddain frantick fits, in which they conversed with Angels, and foresaw things to come, they dissolved all the bonds of humane Society, made perjury lawful, cancell'd all obligations between Husband and Wife, Parents and Children, and lastly admitted none to their Society, but such as were mark't out by a visible descent of the Holy-Ghost upon them, and they were so fond as seriously to fancy that they familiarly saw such appearances. As for the *Eustathians* or rather

Eutabians (for *Baronius* I think has very well proved that not *Eustathius* Bishop of *Sebastia* but one *Eutactus* was the Father of the Sect) I have given some account of them above, that they were a wild sort of Phanaticks that under pretence of a more refined Godliness degenerated into perfect Ranters, and Levelers, and the Practice of all kinds of Debauchery. But the fullest Description of them is best to be seen in the Canons of the Council of *Gangra*, by which they were condemned, *viz.* that they Abhor'd Marriage as unlawful, and eating of flesh unless it were strangled or offered to Idols: that they set loose all servants from subjection to their Masters; that they refused to receive the *Eucharist* from a married Priest, that they despised Churches and all Assemblies in them as Superstitious, that they set up Meetings separate from the Bishop, that they refused to make the usual Offerings, or to be present at the Love-feasts: That they distinguished themselves from others by a peculiar Habit, and would not Communicate with any that did not wear it: that they required women to shave their hair, and wear Mens apparel, to forsake their Husbands, and neglect their Children, and Children to take no notice

or

or Care of their Parents: that they fast on the Lords day, and despise the Festivals of the Church; in short, they seem to have held nothing unlawful in humane life but marriage, nor decent in the worship of God but contradiction to the practice of the Church. And thus when our schism grows too strong for discipline, the Common People never leave wandring till they have tired themselves with roving through all imaginable Exorbitances, for these kind of doctrines are not peculiar to that time or place, but are the fly-blows of disputacity and the natural effects of unbridled liberty all the world over.

§ XVIII. This that I have described as accurately as I could by comparing the best Records of those times, was the true state of the Christian Church under the Reign of *Constantius*, and yet notwithstanding those perpetual Enormities committed by him through his whole Government, the two great Articles that I am proving, *viz.* the inherent right of determining Controversies within the Church it self by its own Governours, and its entire submission to the Civil Powers howsoever oppressed by them, were nicely and religiously observed.

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served by both Governments. The first evidently appears from the Emperor's summoning so many Councils to gratifie his own Will. For his only design was to amend and reform the *Nicene* Creed for the reconciling of all Parties, which if he had thought that he might have done by his own Imperial Authority, to what purpose need he have broke up all the High-ways in *Christendom* by conveying Bishops to and from Councils? He might have proclaimed down the word *ἐκκλησία* by one Imperial Rescript, if he had supposed that a proper Authority for it. So that when he summoned such Variety of Councils, by the Countenance of their Authority to compass his Will, that demonstrates it to be a fixt Principle with him, that the Controversies of the Church ought to be decided by the Authority of the Church. And therefore though it was scarce ever more oppressed or abused by any Prince then himself, yet his very illegal Actions are the highest acknowledgement, that is upon record of that religious reverence that is due to that power, that was settled by our Saviour upon his Apostles and the Bishops their Successours forever. For though it so frequently crost his own design, yet he durst never directly invade

invade or usurp it, but was forced from time to time to sollicite their compliance with his own wicked Will, or rather misinform'd judgement. And though he carried things with so rough a violence, yet he would never attempt any thing against the Liberties of the Church, unless he could bear himself out by the Authority of a Council.

But if he so much own'd that, how comes it to pass that the Ancients charge him so highly for usurping it, particularly *Athanasius*, *Hosius*, *St. Hilary*, and *Libertius*, who freely and boldly reprov'd him for it to his own face? And so they did, and that too upon very just grounds; for though he did not challenge the Authority of the Church to himself, yet he endeavoured to overrule it by down-right force and violence, which is in effect to destroy it.

And that is the ground of their complaints, that they were not allowed freedom in Council, but that himself and his Predecessors took upon them to forestall the Judgement of the Church by Restraints and Threatnings. This is the standing complaint of *Athanasius* and all the Orthodox Bishops in all their Writings. It is the grievance insisted upon by the Synod of *Alexandria* in their Synodical Epi-

Apolog. p. 728. ftle in behalf of *Athanasius* against the *Tyrian* Council. 'With what forehead could they call that a Council, over which a temporal Lord presided; and where Spies, and Notaries were placed where his Lordship determined, and the Officers of the Church were silenced, or rather lacquied to his Decree? Where what was voted by the Bishops, was over-ruled by him? He carried all things by Power, we were govern'd by the Guards, or rather the pleasure of the *Eusebians*, whose Tool and Instrument was the Secular President. And a little after, 'These worthy *Eusebians* stelter their forgeries (speaking of the Villany of *Arsenius*) under the pretence of a Council, where all things were carried by the Emperour's Will, where one of his Lords presided, and the Bishops were under the custody of the guard, and compell'd to say whatever the Emperour commanded. The very same Complaint is made by *Athanasius* himself against the Council of *Antioch*. in his Epistle to the Monks of *Egypt*, 'That when upon the Appeal or rather Reference made to *Rome* by the *Eusebians*, he had repair'd thither, and the time of hearing the cause was appointed, as soon as they heard they were likely to meet

ibid. p. 730.

p. 8. 16.

'meet with an Ecclesiastical judgement, 'where the Secular Governour was not to be present, nor the Guards to keep the Council doors, nor all things to be overul'd by the Commands of *Cesar*, by which methods and no other they had hitherto born down the Bishops, and without which security they durst never have made any appearance, were so astonisht and surpris'd, that they had no way of escape but to shift off their own Appeal. And this is the Account that he gives of their lying off from the Synod of *Sardica*, 'That when they had brought the Emperours Officers along with them, and trusted to do what they pleased by their Authority, but finding that all things were resolved to be managed there fairly and freely according to the Ecclesiastical Rule, they quite baulkt the Council. p. 818.

And to transcribe no more, the same complaint is perpetually repeated by him in all his Writings as the fundamental miscarriage, v. p. 833. 844. 845. 861. 862. This was the enormity of his Reign, though he fell not so grossly into it till after the overthrow of *Magnentius* or the Murther of *Gallus*. They were the Actions of that time that these good men particularly complain of, and no wonder when

when he did all things more like a Madman then a Prince, and Govern'd both the State and himself too as wildly as the Church. As his Extravagance at that time is described by *Ammianus Marcellinus*. *Quo ille Studio blanditiarum exquisito sublatu, immunemque se deinde fore ab Immortalitatis incommodo existimans, confestim a justitiâ declinavit ita intemperanter, ut Æternitatem meam aliquoties assereret ipse dictando, scribendoque propriâ manu Orbis totius se Dominum appellare.* Upon the news of the death of *Gallus*, he was so bloated by the flatteries of his Courtiers for his success against all his Enemies, that he forgot himself and his own Mortality, and sunk after so prodigious a rate from all sense of Justice, that he was often wont in dictating Letters to subscribe himself, My Eternity, and Lord of the whole World. They, I say, were the actions of this mad time, that these good Men particularly complain of, and as for all the time before he gave the Church reasonable fair usage, and though the *Eusebians* drew him in to pack Councils, yet he never proceeded so high himself as to forestall or over-rule their Decrees.

As for the Council of *Antioch*, that was the meer contrivance of the *Nicomædian*

dian Eusebius and his Eunuchs to prevent the Council at *Rome* in the cause of *Athanasius*. In which it does not appear that the Emperor had any other concernment, farther then to put their Sentence in Execution. And was in all probability imposed upon, as the good Bishops of the Council were in the Condemnation of *Athanasius*. For it was all grounded upon the Acts of the *Tyrian* Council, and had they been legal his Deposition had been but just, so that their validity being (as here it was) supposed, no wonder that the Bishops Vote so freely against him, though for the most part neither *Arians* nor *Eusebians*. The Council at *Sardica* was a full and free Council, and though the *Eusebians* were forced to be cross and peevish in their own defence, yet all things were managed in the Council it self fairly and candidly, without any appearance of force or fraud in the Emperor, insomuch that when the banisht Bishops were restored to the Exercise of their Function by the Decree of the Council, he restored them too to the possession of their Bishopricks, by his Imperial Rescript. The first Synod at *Milan* was wholly Western, and under the Jurisdiction of the Emperour *Constans*, where they had all free liberty both

both of debating and determining as they pleased. So that hitherto all Powers, Priviledges, and Jurisdctions in the Church were preserved, as far as the Emperours were concern'd, but after the death of *Constans*, the overthrow of *Magnentius*, and the murder of *Gallus*, when *Constantius* run mad either through guilt or insolence, we read of nothing but Fury and Tyranny. For in the year 355, when *Gallus* was murdered, he summons, or rather musters a Council at *Arles* for the Condemnation of *Athanasius*, commands the Bishops to subscribe it; and banishes *Paulinus* of *Trevers* for refusing the Subscription. In the same year meets the second Council at *Milan*, and that for the same purpose, in which *Eusebius* of *Verselles*, *Liberius* of *Rome*, and at last *Hosius* of *Corduba* are sent on the same Errand after *Paulinus* for the same Offence. In the year 357 follows the Council of *Sirmium*, where, as we have seen, all things were carried by Force. Then comes the Council of *Ariminum* in the year 359, where a Council of near 400 Bishops are compelled to subscribe and submit to the pleasure of *Valens* and his fifty Men. The Council of *Seleucia* came to the worst end of all, being only a contest between the *Euse-*
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bians and *Acacians*, who finding themselves over-numbred, appeal to the Emperor, and are received by him, draw up a new Creed, in which they not only cashier the word *ὁμοούσιος*, but (as they phrased them) all other Exotick words. And this indefinite Faith is imposed upon all Christian Bishops by an Imperial Rescript upon pain of banishment; by which the *Acacians* outed the *Eusebians*, and so got themselves into the best and fattest Preferments. In the year 360 comes the last Conventicle of *Antioch*, in which *Meletius* Bishop of *Antioch* was deposed for asserting the *Nicene* Creed, and that against the Publick Faith of the Emperour, given him under Hand and Seal for his Security. These were wild actings in the Church, but they all followed the *Magnentian* and *Gallian* madness, and that is the excuse that is made for him by *Athanasius* himself, that after *Ep. ad Sg. l. ii.* that he was not himself, but was entirely govern'd by other Men, that (as he expresses it) had no more brains in their Skuls then in their Toes. But before this time of outrage and distraction he kept up that reverence and regard that is due to that Authority, that our Blessed Saviour has committed to his Church. Nay even after this loosing himself and
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his understanding by getting the whole World, he kept up that respect to our Saviour's Institution, as at least to Warrant all his irregular Proceedings by a shew of its Authority. For though he endeavour'd to carry all things by force and violence, yet he never attempted any thing without a pretended Council. This was the Interval of time, in which the Ancients complain of his invading the Power of the Church, and as it were by these wild Practices, thrusting himself into the Evangelical Priest-hood. Thus was it in the year 355, immediately after the mad Council at *Milan*, when the Dialogue between the Emperour and *Liberius* Bishop of *Rome* pass't, in which *Liberius* insists upon that one Proposal, that the Emperour would be pleas'd to call a free Council, and not over-aw it by his own Sovereign Power. 'Let there be an Ecclesiastical Synod Summon'd, but not to Court, where neither the Emperor himself, nor any of his Lords, or Judges commands by threatning, but where the fear of God alone determines all things. And for sticking to this Proposition, and refusing to act in an Ecclesiastical Sentence, till it was granted, he is sent into banishment. In the same year, and upon the same occasion

*Athanas.
Ep. ad So-
l. p. 833. E.*

caſion it was that the wiſe *Hofius* gave him that famous advice. *Tibi Deus Imperium commiſit, nobis quæ ſunt Eccleſiæ concredidit. Et quemadmodum qui tuum Imperium malignis oculis carpit, contradicit ordinationi divinæ : Ita & tu cave, ne quæ ſunt Eccleſiæ ad te trahens, magno crimini obnoxius ſias ; neque enim ſaſt eſt nobis in terris Imperium tenere, neque tu thymiatum & ſacrorum poteſtatem habes, Imperator.* ' God has committed the Empire to you, the Church to us, and as he would rebel againſt God, that ſhould malign your Authority, ſo take heed leſt by drawing the Affairs of the Church to your ſelf, you prove guilty of the ſame Rebellion : for as it is a ſin in us to challenge any temporal Authority ; ſo know, O Emperour, that you have not the power of the holy Function. This was plain dealing, and but neceſſary at that time, when he had made ſo foul an inroad upon the Jurifdictions and Liberties of the Church, and overborn all its Divine Authority by Military force and fury. So that his meaning was not, as the *Romanists* would have it, to cut off the Emperour from all interpoſing in Church Affairs, becauſe he that had been ſo much employed in them under *Conſtantine*, could not think it unlawful

lawful in it self. But though that be no fault but a duty, yet to use his Authority with meer force and violence, to destroy the Judgment of the Governors of the Church by compulsion in matters of Faith, and to take upon himself the determination of them, as he had in effect done, and that in contradiction to the Authority of a General Council, was such a bold contempt of our Saviour's Institution, and such an Invasion of the rights of his Kingdom, that the good Bishop could do no less then threaten it with the Terrors of the last day. About the same time St. *Hilary* address't his Apology in behalf of the Catholicks to the Emperor, where among divers other abuses, that he Petitions to be redress't, this is none of the least. *Provideat & decernat Clementia vestra, ut omnes ubique Judices, quibus Provinciarum administrationes creditæ sunt, ad quos sola cura & sollicitudo publicorum negotiorum pertinere debet, à religiosa se observantia abstineant: neque posthac præsumant, atque usurpent, & putent se causas cognoscere Clericorum & innocentes homines variis afflictationibus, minis, violentiâ, terroribus frangere atque vexare.* That was the deplorable State of the Church at that time, that the Emperor's Prefects and

and Officers took upon them a Power of Summoning the Orthodox Clergy to their Tribunals to give an account of their Faith, and to banish them if they refused compliance with the Emperor's Will, and not only so, but to take the Accusations of their Enemies against them, and right or wrong, and without any regard to Justice, or understanding the merit of the Cause, inflict upon them their own Arbitrary punishments. This just complaint of St. *Hilary*, and the oppress't Catholiques so wrought with the Emperor, that notwithstanding his outrage against them, because his Affairs in *France* were then embroil'd by the Incursions of the Barbarous Nations, he publishes that seemingly kind Rescript in Answer to their Request. *Mansuetudinis nostræ lege prohibemus in Judiciis Episcopos accusari, &c.* De Episc. clw. l. 12. Commanding 'that the Accusations of Bishops should 'not be brought before Secular Magistrates, lest it should give too much encouragement to wicked Men to oppress them with slanders; and therefore if 'any Man have a complaint against them, 'let it be Examind before the Bishops, 'that so every cause might be determin'd 'by its proper Judicature. This is a singular Law, and has scarce any other parallel

rallel with it in the whole Code, for though there are divers Laws of other Emperors, that refer all Controversies about Religion to the Episcopal Audience, yet as for the Criminal causes of Ecclesiastical Persons, I do not remember any beside this that wholly exempted them from the cognisance of their own Courts. And therefore that this Emperor should grant such an Universal exemption seems a courtesie more then ordinary, and is thought to have been meerly extorted by the importunity of the Catholick Bishops, and the present difficulty of his own Affairs. And that they then insisted upon the exemption of Ecclesiastical Persons as well as Causes, it was for a reason peculiar to the State of the Controversie at that time, that was then managed, not so much by Arguments as Accusations, though that weapon was chiefly employed against the great *Athanasius*, into whose single Person the Controversie was at last contracted, and the Parties were distinguisht by nothing but subscribing and refusing his Condemnation. For he being the great Pillar of the Catholick Cause, the *Eusebians* knew well enough that if they could but blow him up, the cause must fall with him, and for that reason is it that they all a-

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long labour'd so hard to overwhelm him with Criminal Accusations. And therefore the Catholicks perceiving their fraud, interposed as vehemently in defence of *Athanasius* as of their Faith because all the blows that were levell'd at him were supposed to aim at that, insomuch that to subscribe his Condemnation was the same thing as to quit the Party, as we have seen in the case of Pope *Liberius*. And for this reason chiefly it was necessary at that time, that the Emperor if he would refer the Ecclesiastical Controversie then on foot to the Bishops, he should do the same as to the Criminal Causes of the Clergy, because they were then universally join'd together. And yet as kind as this Law might appear to be in relieving them from the oppressions of the Imperial Courts, it was but a fraudulent favour, and only design'd to ensnare the Catholicks. For this gracious Rescript was publisht in the same year, in which he call'd the violent Council at *Milan*, that was on purpose packt out of the fiercest *Eusebians*, to carry things thorough with an high hand, and without any contradiction. So that when in this Rescript he refer'd the Orthodox Bishops to an Ecclesiastical Judgment, he design'd nothing but their Oppression in this

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mad Council ; and that it is evident, was so far from any kindness, that it was the sharpest severity he could have contrived against them : For if they had just ground of complaint against the unjust actings of the Secular Courts, because they were not their proper Judicatures, yet when they were so rudely outraged in Council, as it was done in the proper Court, so was it at their own request ; and that both took away all ground of complaint, and left them without any means of relief. *Gothofred* has a Conjecture, that this Rescript was Enacted not before but after the Council, and that in favour of the *Eusebians*, who were overcome by the Orthodox at their own weapon of Accusation ; and yet by the partiality of the Council were protected, whilst the Catholicks were oppressed and denied the very formalities of Justice ; this, says the Learned Man, might provoke them to make their Appeals to the Secular Courts, where they might at least hope to meet with some humanity and regard to the Laws : And therefore the Emperor to spoil this shift, brings them all back to the Ecclesiastical Judicature, that if they would come thither, there they might be heard, but no where else. But this contradicts the whole

whole state of Affairs at that time, when the partiality and oppression of the Secular Judges was the universal Groan of the Catholicks, and when this Rescript was enacted upon or at least after their reiterated complaints against it, and therefore there is no ground to imagine that the Catholicks, how much soever oppressed in Council, would think of seeking relief there. But whatever was the intent of the Rescript (and no doubt it was malicious enough) it is certain that it was at least pretended to be granted upon the complaint of the Catholicks against the Secular Courts for taking to themselves the Judgment of Controversies of Faith, whereas they ought to have referred them to the Synods of Bishops, whom our Saviour had appointed to be the proper Guides and Judges in those matters. And that is the meaning of *Hofius* and the rest in their reproofs of the Emperor, not that he used his Authority in the Church, but that he abused it by opposing it to the determination of a general Council, by whose advice he ought both as a wise Man and a good Christian, to have been directed in the use of his Power in such matters. And that was the grand miscarriage of his Reign, that he would not sit down

fatisfied under the Authentique and Solemn determination of so great a Council ; which if he had done as his Father did, he had escaped all that tedious risk of trouble, which he created both to himself and to the Church through his whole Reign. But however it is evident from all the Premisses, that how enormously soever he abused his own Power in the Church, he never attempted to Usurp the Churches Power, and he never took upon him to make any Alterations in the Faith, till they were first made and decreed in Council ; and though he destroyed the Use and Authority of Councils by denying freedom of Vote, yet that was an abuse of his Power, not an usurpation of theirs. For that he ever own'd with a Religious regard in his most unwarrantable Oppressions. And as I have observed at the beginning he shew'd greater respect to the Power of the Church than any Emperor in the whole Succession, when he called such sholes of Councils, only to have his Will of one Man, and one Word, which he durst not controul himself, because they had been own'd and justified by the Churches Authority. And if we carefully observe his motions, we shall find him a cordial friend both to the Church and to Religi-

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on, and the end of all his mistaken Zeal was the lasting settlement of Peace and Concord, that was the word that he had always in his mouth ; all the misfortune was, that he fell into ill hands, and by their advice endeavour'd it the wrong way. His high Opinion of the honesty of some ill Church-Men, was the Principle that expos'd him to all that abuse that was put upon him all his life time. It was his confidence in *Eusebius* and his Partisans that did drive him into that unhappy course that he took for the attainment of his desired Peace. All their advice was Oracle to him, and made him both deaf and blind to all other information. But otherwise setting aside this unhappy oversight of being over-ru'd by ill Men, he seems to have been so far from all thoughts of robbing the Church of its own inherent rights, that he thought he could never shew it kindness enough, by heaping continual favours of his own upon it, he granted it more Priviledges and greater Immunities than any other Emperor ; and whereas his Father *Constantine* only exempted Ecclesiasticks from all Personal burthens in the Common-wealth, he has in divers Rescripts freed them from all manner of Taxes and Impositions whatsoever ; and

a very little time before his death he published an Edict to Establish the perpetual security of all his former Grants, with this reason at the end of it, as it were his dying words, *Gaudere enim & gloriari ex fide semper volumus & scientes, magis Religionibus quam Officiis & Labore corporis, vel sudore nostram rempublicam contineri, i. e. as Gothofred paraphrases it, We freely grant all these Immunities to the Ministers of Religion, as knowing that the Publick Weal will lose nothing by all their exemptions from its service, but gain greater blessings from their Prayers and Devotions, then they could have contributed to it by any other way of Attendance. And this very thing is all along upbraided to him by the counterfeited Hilary, in his Book against him, that whilst he pretended so much kindness to the Christian Church and Clergy, he by his ill Government betrayed the one and oppressed the other. *Auro reipublicæ Sanctum Dei honoras, & vel detracta templis, vel publicata Edictis, vel exacta pænis Deo ingeris. Osculo Sacerdotes excipis, quo & Christus est proditus: Caput benedictioni summittis, ut fidem calces: convivio dignaris, ex quo Judas ad prodicionem egressus est: censum capitum remittis, quem Christus, ne Scandalo esset,*
*exolvit:**

De Episc.
Ecclis. &
Cler. l. 16.

pag. 316.

exolvit: Vestigalia Cæsar donas, ut ad negationem Christianos invites: quæ tua sunt, relaxas, ut quæ Dei sunt, amittantur. So that it is evident from his Story and the Confession of his Enemies, that he was a true lover of the Christian Church, and a zealous Promoter of Religion, and only miscarried by following the advice of the *Eusebians*, which they gave him for their own ends, and with what grossness they abused him all along we have seen through every Stage of his life. And this is the ground of those high Commendations that are given him by *Gregory Nazianzen*, because he was of himself a true lover of Religion, and designed nothing but the Peace and settlement of the Church, though under that plausible pretence his good nature and integrity were imposed upon by wicked Men, to compass their own wicked designs against the true peace of the Catholick Church. And that was the folly and misfortune that they drew him into, not to acquiesce in the Authoritative determination of the Church, in so great a Council as that of *Nice*, which had he done, it had continued in the same Peace, and Tranquility, in which his Father left it. But when instead of that he endeavoured to remove the settled Foundation,

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as it was laid by the true and proper Builders ; it is no wonder if the whole Fabrick fell upon his own head, and buried his whole Reign under its Ruins. And it is very likely that his impatience under so awkerd a Burthen, when he could not clear himself of it, put him at last upon those angry courses, that he took to obtain his Will. And as at last it perplexed, so it debauched his Government, for till the Conquest of *Magnentius* he seem'd to have behaved himself like a wise and able Prince, but had not leisure to attempt, much less perform any thing great, by reason of his perpetual attendance upon this Controversie. And that may be a warning to all Princes, That when a Controversie of Religion is once laid by a fair and legal decision, to beware how they suffer it to rise again, lest it prove too strong and stubborn to submit to a second Exorcism.

However by the different behaviour of these two Princes in interposing in the Controversies of the Church, and the different event of their actings in it, we have before our Eyes clear examples of right and wrong methods of Government. *Constantine* when he found a Faction in the Church, settles peace by the Authority

Authority of the Church, without putting any restraints upon it ; and what that determin'd he first made a Law to himself, and then to his Subjects, and would never after permit it to be call'd in question ; and by this means he quell'd a dangerous Faction, and freed himself from any direct disturbance from it all his own Reign. But his Son *Constantinus* on the contrary not acquiescing in the Canonical determination of the Church, broke down all the Banks of Government, and let in that Inundation of Dispute that overwhelm'd his whole Reign. But being sensible of the trouble that he had brought upon himself by having once dismantled the Churches Authority, he thought to help himself out by retrieving its force, but still the more he struggled the more he entangled himself, because instead of settling things by fair and free Councils (and unless they are so, they are no Councils of Christs Officers, but meer Executioners of the Princes Commands) himself ever endeavour'd to over-rule all the Councils that he call'd, either by fraud or violence. And then no wonder when they were so hamper'd, if they were not able to attain the end of their Institution. And that was the fatal miscarriage of

of his Reign, his garbling the Authority of Councils, turning them into Courts of Guards, and abetting forty or fifty Seditious Men against the whole Body of Catholick Bishops, otherwise if they had been permitted the free exercise of their own proper Authority, all things had been carried with that gravity and decency that became the Christian Church, as we see by the great Councils of *Sardica* and *Ariminum*, that had effectually settled the *Nicene* Faith, had not the Emperor cut asunder their Decrees with his Sword, and set up an *Eusebian* Rump in defiance and opposition to the whole Council. And therefore whereas some Men are pleased to upbraid the Churches Authority with the miscarriages of these Councils under *Constantius*, they might have been pleased too to consider, that the main Body of Christian Bishops discharged their duty with entire faithfulness and integrity, and that it was only the Emperor and his Court-parasites that were guilty of all the Exorbitancies committed in the Church in his time, which he committed so altogether without the Churches consent, that by them he oppressed it with all the outrage and violence of Persecution. But from this clamour raised against the Authority of the

the Church upon this account, and kept up at this very day with so much confidence (for we find it among the doleful invectives of *R. B.* against the ancient Bishops in his Book of Crudities,) we may see what a pleasure and satisfaction it is to men of some tempers to be venting their ill nature against the true old Christian Church.

But Secondly, as the Emperour in all his exorbitant actions own'd and supposed the power of the Church, so the Catholicks submitted to all their sufferings under him with the same patience and upon the same Principle that they did to the Heathen Emperours. And this is most remarkable in the Case of *Athanasius*, who though he was persecuted and provoked beyond all Patience for the Establish'd Religion of the Empire, but among infinite other slanders that were loaded upon him, is charged with Treason and Disloyalty, yet for all this he is nice and punctual in his Obedience to all the Emperours commands even against himself, and does with the greatest indignation detest the least thought of disrespect or disloyalty to his Sovereign Lord. Thus when his Enemies had slandered him to the Emperour *Constantius* for having spoken ill things of him, and done ill

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Offices between him and his Brother *Constant*, he defies the Calumny a thousand times over * as only fit to be laid upon a distracted Man, and calls God and his Holy Angels to witness, how far it was from his thoughts and his Principles to speak the least ill word of a Sovereign Prince. And when in the second place they charged him for having held correspondence with the Rebel *Magnentius*, here he professes himself amazed and confounded with the greatness of the Lye, and wonders how any man should be so strangely beside himself, as to feign such an incredible Calumny against him *. He be such a Beast as to be friend to such a Monster as had Rebell'd against and Murther'd his Royal Master! No, he would rather dye Ten Thousand Deaths then be guilty of one such Disloyal Thought. † And beseeches the Emperour that he would never entertain such an hard opinion of the Christian Church, as if it were possible for Christians, but much more Bishops to entertain any thoughts like Disloyalty, and invokes the God of Heaven and Earth, who gave the Empire to *Constantius*, and to whom alone he could appeal from him as being his only Superiour, to clear his innocence from so foul a Calumny. And

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whereas in the third place they object, that when the Emperour commanded his departure from *Alexandria*, he refused to obey it. To this he answers * God forbid that I should be such a wretch as to flite any of his Majesties Commands. No, he made Conscience of refusing Obedience but to the Questor of a City, much more to his Sovereign Lord the Emperour. * Then discovers to him how the *Eusebians* had forged Letters in the Emperours Name for his Banishment, and tells him that it was upon the assurance of the Forgery that he refused compliance, but otherwise assures him that he is not so mad as to disobey any of his own Commands whatsoever, so that if he had been pleased to Command him from *Alexandria*, he would have been gone at the first notice, and prevented the Command by the promptness of his Obedience. The sense of all which is, that it is no less then downright madness for any man that pretends to Christianity to make resistance to any Commands of his Sovereign Prince, and this he writes whilst he was forced for the security of his life to lye conceal'd in the Wilderness, after he had been persecuted by *Constantius* with the utmost rancour, and a thousand times worse then a Mid-night Robber for above

* *Apol. 276.*
ἐμὲν, &c. p. 674.

* *Apol. 276.*
ἐν ἐπὶ τῷ
τῷ ξενί-
ζόμενος, p.
678. D.

† *ib. p. 681.*
C.

* *28. 276.*
ἐν &c. p.
686. B.

* *ib. 687.*
D.

above twenty years together, and in truth had suffered such things from his hands, as never any other Subject did from any Prince. For his Case is singular and has nothing like it in Story, *Constantius* his treating of him exceeded the injustice and cruelty of all the Heathen Tyrants; and yet after all this prodigious and unparallel'd Provocation, not only against the Laws of the Empire but of all Humanity, how tender is this great spirited Man of making the least abatement of respect and duty to his Prince? However he was pleased to treat him, he was obliged by his Religion as he would acquit himself from madness, not so much as to entertain a thought of the least resistance to any of his Commands; in short, considering the strange usage he had met with from the Emperour through his whole life, his Story is the greatest instance and demonstration of a religious Sense of Loyalty, that is upon Record.

It is true that *Lucifer Calaritanus* bestowed his rude Language upon the Emperour liberally enough, but he was a man of a prodigiously fierce & implacable nature; as appears by the Schism that he made in the Church, leaving its Communion rather than be reconciled to any of the *Arian*

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or *Eusebian* Clergy upon their repentance and submission, which was such a piece of lowreness and austerity, as could not but eat up all Sense of civility and good manners, and therefore it is no wonder if a man of such a splenetick temper were so free of his Contumelious Language without respect of Persons, especially when his natural rudeness was heightened and improved by that false Principle, that Christian Bishops might treat Heretick Princes after the same rate, that the Prophets in the Old Testament did Apostate Princes, and by that he answers *Constantius* his complaint of rudeness and insolence against him. *Dixisti passum te ac pati a nobis contra monita sacrarum scripturarum contumeliam, dicis nos insolentes extitisse circa te, quem honorari decuerit, quasi quisquam dei cultorum pepercit Apostatis:* 'You complain that we have given you contumelious language against the commands of the Holy Scriptures, you say that we behave our selves after an insolent manner towards you, whom we ought to honour, as if any Servant of God were to spare Apostates. And then proceeds to a Catalogue of all the prophetick burthenis against Apostate and Idolatrous Princes in the Old Testament. But I am not at all concern'd to excuse

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him when he quitted the Catholick Communion and joyned Faction with the Rebel Puritans the Donatists, as we have seen above. Though this is to be said for him, that how far soever he might proceed in foul Language, he was so far from making any invitation to proceed to violent Actions; that he concludes his whole Book with a passionate exhortation to Patience and Martyrdom. So that hitherto the Doctrine of resistance to Sovereign Princes, in any circumstances whatsoever, or upon any pretence whatsoever, but especially of Religion is an utter Stranger to the Catholick Church.

§. XIX. And now are we Arrived at a strange and surprizing Revolution of things under the Reign of *Julian*, who did sooner come to the Crown, then he endeavour'd by all the ways of fraud and force to destroy the Establish'd Religion of the Empire in order to the Reduction of the old Paganism and Idolatry. And considering the shortness of his Reign; he was a fiercer and more outrageous Enemy to the Christian Church, then any or indeed all the ancient Persecutors put together. And yet notwithstanding all the wildness of his fury, they think themselves obliged by the Fundamental Laws

of their Religion to pay him the same duty of Loyalty and Allegiance, that they payed to the Christian Emperours. But the History of his Reign has of late been made the Subject even of popular discourse, and that will in a great measure prevent me in this part of my undertaking, the Trifle of *Julian* having received sufficient Correction, and much more then it deserved, and I doubt the Jest is now spoil'd, and the jolly Doctrine prevented from being popular, by its unhappy Application. But notwithstanding that I shall proceed in my old Method to shew, first how the Church took care to Govern and preserve it self by its own Authority against all the Apostates Opposition, and by the right and effectual exercise of it, was too hard for all his Politicks against it. And Secondly what a tender and a religious sense of Duty and Loyalty they profess and practised towards him in spite of his unparallel'd Provocations. Of which I shall endeavour so to discourse, as not to repeat or interfere with other Mens Observations.

As for the first, it is highly observable that when the Apostate came to the Empire, he was all on fire for the destruction of Christianity out of it, for though he

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 had suppress't his Apostacy all the time of *Constantius*, yet his zeal was perpetually boiling in his Breast, and impatient to burst into open Liberty. And therefore the very first moment of Opportunity, that it had to discover it self, it broke forth (as *Gregory Nazianzen* often compares it) like fire from its confinement. He immediately commands all the Heathen Temples to be opened, and the Sacrifices to be brought to the Altars, solemnly renounces his Christianity, and purges away his Baptism with the Blood of Sacrifices, is immediately install'd into the old and abrogated dignity of *Pontifex Maximus*, and officiates at the Heathen Rites in his own Person. So that tho the former Emperours took it to themselves only as a Title of Honour, he ridiculously takes the Office too, and acts all the Phantastick Postures and Pageantries of the Heathen Priests. And the fury of his zeal swell'd so high, that nothing less would serve his turn then to be created a Priest of the *Eleusinian* Mysteries, because those were esteemed the most sacred and recondite part of their Religion. And then he goes on every where to re-edifie and adorn the Heathen Temples, and to place Heathen Priests in them. And having thus in the first place

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 place taken all speedy care for the re-
 tlement of his own Religion, his next
 thought is how to contrive the utter ex-
 tirpation of the *Galilæans*, as he always
 stil'd the Christians in contempt and deri-
 sion. The best and most obvidious Policy
 that he could pitch upon for that, was
 to bring confusion into the Church. For
 which purpose he grants Liberty of Con-
 science to all Factions, calls back all the
 banish't Bishops, particularly *Athanasius*,
Eusebius of *Verselles*, and *St. Hilary*, re-
 stores all the Hereticks, particularly *Aetius*,
 whom he invites to Court, and returns
 all their Churches to the *Novatian* Schis-
 matics, and what mighty endearments
 there were between the Apostate and the
 Donatists, we have seen above in their
 History. Now from an uncontroll'd li-
 centiousness granted to such a vast varie-
 ty of quarrellsome People, he doubted
 not to make the Church contemptible to
 all the World by turning it into a Coun-
 ter-scuffle. For he look't upon the Chri-
 stians as the most contentious Sect in it,
 usually saying * that no wild Beasts were
 so fierce against men, as Christians were
 against one another. And this Character
 of the contentiousness of Christians a-
 mong themselves he could not but take
 up from his Observation of the Cruelty
 O o 3
 and 22. c. 5.

and merciless behaviour of the *Eusebians* towards the Orthodox under his Predecessor, that indeed exceeded the savageness of all wild Beasts. But supposing them never so tame, nothing less then everlasting confusion could be expected from such an unbounded licentiousness.

l. 5. a. 5.

As *Sozomen* observes that it was not done out of any kindness, but that the Church might destroy it self by mutual discord and Civil War. And yet alas so far was he from attaining his ends, that his malice was utterly defeated by the wisdom of the good Bishops; for they being now freed from that violence and oppression, that was put upon the Discipline of the Church, by *Constantius* with his Prefects and Eunuchs; and so being at liberty to exert that power, that was settled upon them by our blessed Saviour, they effectually restored that Peace and Concord to the Church, which they could never compass under the oppressive Reign of *Constantius*, put an end to the vexatious *Arian* Controversie, establish't the *Nicene* Faith over all the Christian World, and prevented new Schisms and Factions, that were at that time breaking out in the Christian Church.

For

For after the death of *George* the Saint (who was barbarously Murthered by the Heathens for affronting their Religion, or rather robbing their Temples,) as 'tis attested both by *Ammianus Marcellinus*, and all the Christian Historians, but most expressly by *Julians* own Letter to the *Alexandrians*, where he bespeaks the Actors as true Worshippers of the Gods, and blames them for having committed so cruel a Riot out of an over warm zeal for their Religion, yet *Philostorgius* and *Sandius* have the Grace to say, That the Fact was committed by the Followers of *Athanasius*, and that they were set on by himself, (though he were then absent out of the City.) After this *Athanasius* returns to *Alexandria*, where he is no sooner come then he calls a Council for resettling the State of the Catholick Church, that had been interrupted by *Constantius* his fierce and long Oppression of it. And at this Council the Famous *Eusebius* of *Verselles* was present, as he returned from his banishment in the higher *Thebais*, though the *Roman* Writers will have it, that he came as the Popes Legate, without any Authority for it but their own bold Assertion, and on the contrary he was so far from coming with any Commission from *Rome*, that he

Lib. 7. l.
2. p. 136

O o 4

came

came from a quite distant part of the World, and only took in *Alexandria* in his Way.

And now here the first question is, as in all other Persecutions, concerning the *Lapsi*, or those Bishops that had joyn'd with the *Arians* or *Eusebians* in any of *Constantius* his Councils, whether upon their return to the Catholick Church, they should be received in their Episcopal Capacity, or only according to rigour of Canon, be admitted to Lay-Communion. But here the Fathers incline to the milder Sentence, following the Example of the *Nicene* Council, who received the *Novatian* Bishops in their Episcopal Capacity to Communion. And thus they order here that the Bishops that had joyn'd with the Hereticks either out of ignorance, or by surprize, or through meer force should be received without deprivation of dignity. And in this they rather shewed Justice then Mercy, for in all those Transactions, as we have seen above, there appear'd nothing of *Arianism* above board, and at the same time that they quitted *Consubstantiality*, for Peace sake, they anathematized all the Points of the *Arian* Heresie. So that their compliance, though it was a defect

V. Athanas.
in Epist.
ad Rufinum.

in prudence, it was no Apostacy from the Orthodox Faith. And if the leading *Eusebians* had a design by removing that word to supplant and undermine the true Faith, as 'tis plain by the last issue of all that some of them had, *i. e. Valens* and his Party, yet that was kept secret among themselves, and honest well meaning Men had no ground to suspect it, because it was always protested against. And it is certain that the greatest part of them had no such design, for *Basilius* and all his Party, who so fiercely opposed the *Acacians*, when they turn'd *Arians*, had been all along vehement *Eusebians* and Enemies to *Consubstantiality*. And therefore it is evident that their zeal against that was not at all for any love of *Arianism*, but only of the Peace of the Church, which they conceived to be obstructed by that unscriptural and unwarrantable Word. And therefore it was no such kindness to receive such Persons, as had innocently joyn'd with them, upon such easie terms, when by it they were not in the least tainted with the Heresie it self, and so *St. Jerom* himself states it. *Post reditum Confessorum in Alexandria postea Synodo constitutum est, ut exceptis Auctoribus Hæreseos, quos*

Adv. Lucifer.
ser. Tom. 2.

Error.

Error excusare non poterat, poenitentes Ecclesiae sociarentur, non quod Episcopi possint esse, qui Haeretici fuerant, sed quod constaret eos, qui reciperentur, Haereticos non fuisse. After the Return of the Confessors from banishment, it was decreed in a Synod at *Alexandria*, That excepting the Authors of the Heresie, that no surprise can excuse, the Repenting Bishops should be received, not that they could be Bishops, that had been Hereticks, but because it was evident that they that were received had not been Hereticks. And as for their depriving the Authors and Ring-leaders of the Heresie forever, so as never to be raised above Lay-Communion, that was no severity, but agreeable to the standing discipline of the Church. And in the next place whereas there had been lately started an unhappy Controversie between the Greeks and Latins, concerning the Words *Hypostasis* and *Persona*, because the word *Hypostasis* being Synonymous with *usia*, when the Greeks profess the belief of three Hypostases, they seem'd to the Latins to own three distinct Substances: And the Latins, who rejected that word, and in lieu of it used the word *Persona*, seem'd not to assert any thing real, but a meer relative distinction,

inction, the word *Persona* being generally used to denote not the Man himself, but his Office and Relation. This contest run very high, as *Nazianzen* informs us, to the endangering a breach between the Churches, and therefore *St. Athanasius* prudently proposes that both words should be promiscuously used in both Churches, and that would effectually take away the Jealousie on both sides, and so it did, for it silenced the controversie forever, and it continues so settled to this very day. And lastly, whereas some Men cryed up the Confession of Faith presented by the *Eusebian* Party to the Council at *Sardica*, as if the Council had approved of it, they declare that it was utterly rejected by the Council, and that it refused to alter any thing of the *Nicene* Faith. These Decrees, with some other, they draw up in an Encyclical Epistle to the Bishops of the Christian World. And after the same manner that *Athanasius* bestir'd himself for the settlement of the Church in *Africa*, *St. Hilary* labours for the Restitution of the Church of *France*, where he procures frequent Councils, particularly one at *Paris*, to condemn the proceedings at *Arminum*, and restore the Church to that Ancient State, that it enjoyed before

fore *Constantius* his Invasion upon its Liberties, and here they unanimously declared, That when they subscribed the Creed of *Ariminum*, in which the word *eterna* was omitted, they were meerly over-reach't, and take the Sacrament upon it, that they suspected no harm, and abhorred the consequences that were made out of it by ill Men, and therefore desire pardon of the World for what they had been surpris'd into by meer ignorance, and in this they were so unanimous, that there was but one dissenting Bishop in all *France*, that is *Saturninus*

Illud apud omnes constitit, unius Hilarii beneficio Galias nostras piaculo hæresis liberatas.
Sulp. Sev. l. 2.

of *Arles*, whom they deposed, and thus says the Historian, was all *France* purged of Heresie by the Authority of one Man. And the same thing was

done at the same time in the Eastern Church, as appears by the Synodical Epistle of the *French-Bishops* to the Oriental Bishops, which is nothing else then an answer to their Epistle, declaring their concurrence with their Proceedings. And thus was this Evil Spirit of *Arianism*, that had for so many years possess't and tormented the Christian Church, and that

that *Constantius* had in vain taken so much pains to exorcise by his own Authority, thus I say it was at last easily cast out by the Power and Efficacy of the Apostolical Rod.

But the Apostate finding the Peace of the Christian Church so well settled, he grows into a rage to see both his wit and his malice so dexterously defeated, and now can dissemble no longer, pulls off his Vizor of pretended Kindness, and turns open Persecutor. And in the first place he flies upon *Athanasius*, who had with wonderful success advanced Christianity in *Alexandria*, and therefore upon pain of death he must immediately leave the City. This the Emperor with *Julian's* great fierceness commands both the *Citizens* of *Alexandria*, and *Ecdicius* the Prefect of *Egypt*, to put in Execution under the severest Penalties. And here he brings off his former seeming Lenity to the *Galilean* or Christian Bishops, that he had restored from Banishment, with this slender sham, that he only gave them leave to return to their own Countries, but never intended to restore them to the Jurisdiction of their Churches. And therefore *Athanasius*, having presum'd to usurp his Episcopal Seat without the Imperial Grant, must once more be gone.

And

And accordingly he withdraws, with this comfort to his friends, that were weeping at his departure; that it was but a flying shower, and would soon be over. But if he had not made hast, it had not only wet him to the skin, but overwhelm'd him forever, for now the Apostate becomes Treacherous and Cruel, and privately sends his Assassins to cut his Throat. Of this *Athanasius* being inform'd, he immediately takes Boat for *Thebais*, but being close pursued by the Murderers, instead of Landing and Sheltering himself in the Woods, as his friends advis'd him, he according to his usual readiness of Wit, commands the Boat-man to row back to *Alexandria*, and meeting with the other Boat that pursued him, the Captain of the Cut-throats calls to them, to know whether they met *Athanasius*; and how far off they might suppose him to be? *Athanasius* himself answers, That he knew him very well, and that he was hard by, bids them row hard, and then there could be no doubt but that they must overtake him, and so for that time he escapes to *Alexandria*, and there lyes hid till the Storm was over. But the Prefects seeing the Emperour's mighty Zeal, and being themselves great Patriots of the Supersti-

tions,

tion (he having displaced all *Constantius* his Prefects, and put in Bigots of his own Religion) having so fair an Example from their Master, resolve, as it always happens in such Cases, to outrun his leading Zeal. And therefore in all places prosecute the Christians with all kind of Cruelty and Oppression : And if they complain'd to the Emperour himself, they had no redress, but were only flouted with that silly and prophane Sarcastm, That suffering was the duty of their Religion. And that was his daily practice, and much becoming the gravity of an Emperour and a Philosopher too, to play such childish and perverse Glosses upon our Saviour's Precepts. But he rested not here, but when he resolv'd upon his *Persian* Expedition, he imposes a Tax upon all that refused to Sacrifice to the Gods, according to the ability of the Person, for the maintenance of the War, and if any complain'd of the Exactions of his Officers, then his standing Jest was, That Poverty was not only their duty but their advantage. And when he rob'd the Church of its Treasury, he season'd his Sacrilege with this abusive Sarcastm, *Se Christianos expeditores facite ad Regnum Caelorum, quia Galileus Magister ipsorum dixerit; beatos esse pauperes,*

peres, quoniam talium est regnum Cælorum: That he only did it, to convey the Christians with the more ease to Heaven, because the *Galilæan* their Master declared, that blessed are the Poor, for of such is the Kingdom of Heaven. But besides this, he disbands all Officers that refuse to Sacrifice, and hereupon *Valentinian* and *Valens*, that were then great Commanders, and afterwards Emperors, peaceably laid down their Arms; declaring themselves ready to suffer any thing, rather than wrong their Consciences or betray their Religion. Whereas those who profess't it in the time of *Constantine* and *Constantius*, only for Worldly Interest and Advantage, readily complied with all his Impositions, and among these that famous Weather-cock *Ecebolius* the Sophist marched in the first rank: Before *Julian's* time he was a Zealous Christian; under him a furious Pagan; after him a Christian again to that sneaking degree, that he would lye bellowing upon the threshold of the Church doors; begging all Christians, that passed over him, to trample upon him as insatuated Salt. And thus in short (to pass by many more arts of Oppression) he pursued the Christians with as vehement Outrage, but much more provoking Contempt

tempt then any of the old Persecutors. Continually breaking Jests, not only upon their Religion but their Miseries: which is not only to wound a Man, but to rub Salt and pour Vinegar upon his Sores; a piece of Barbarity that was peculiar to *Julian* alone. And no Man, but the greatest Pedant in the World (and so was he) could have condescended to so mean a piece of malice and revenge.

And as he for his short Reign out Outraged all his Predecessors, in the * fury * 17. Soz. and madness of his Persecution, so the Christians resolved to out-do their Ancestors in Patience and Passive Obedience under all his abusive Tyranny. And though they had the strength and the Law of the Empire on their side, yet being Christians they scorn'd to make use of any other Weapons in defence of their Religion than Prayers and Tears. But though this is the bravest Example of the Doctrine and Practice of the Passive Obedience of Christians, that we have upon Record in all the Annals of the Church, yet the World has been of late blest with a new discovery of I know not what strange, undutiful, unchristian, inhumane, and disloyal behaviour towards him, as exceeding the salvageness of Cannibals and Barbarians in contempt

and insolence, treating him with more roughness than a Mid-night Thief, or a High-way Robber.

§. XX. But first, if it were true, it is a very poor and impertinent Precedent to Warrant the new Christian-duty of our modern Apostates (for all Rebel-Christians renounce Christianity with much more dishonour to it, than *Julian* himself ever did) of Resistance and Rebellion to Sovereign Princes. For what if the Christians at that time had been really guilty of any miscarriages in that kind, what objection is that one miscarriage against the constant Doctrine and Tradition of the Christian Church in all Ages ? This is to be taken from its general practice and sense, and not from the irregularities of a few private Persons, for it is too hard to expect that all Men should live up to their Principles, and that every one that profess't himself a Christian, should be free from all misdemeanours against his own Profession. That is too great a perfection to be required in this life. There is no Church but that in Heaven without some miscarriages and faulty Members, and therefore it is but a mean and chuldisht undertaking, that argues great malice, and little

the wit, though it were true, to find out in all the Records of the Church one or two instances of old, in which the Christians did not behave themselves with that decency, as they ought and profess't to owe to their Governors. For what if it be true ? What does that prove, but that they were so much Men, as sometimes to have fall'n short both of their Duty and Profession ? What is that against the general and declared Sense of the Church ? Upon the same terms the Primitive Christians may be loaded with all the Crimes in the World, because some that professed Christianity, some time or other fell into all but this. What then, if it were true that the behaviour of some Christians towards the Apostate, was not such as became their duty towards their Sovereign, what is that to the Sense of the Catholick Church in all Ages before; and for many after, to the year 1073 ? Can it reasonably be expected that in so long a Tract of time there should not be one instance of the miscarriage of Christians in this kind ? and yet this at the best is the case of this wonderful Precedent, to overthrow the whole Catholick Doctrine of Passive Obedience. But Seditious Persons are fond of any Pretence, and will rather forfeit their

Understanding, then not gratifie their ill-nature, how else could any Man be so transported out of his common Sense from one miscarriage to warrant our imitation of it, against the constant sense of the Church for so many Ages ? And yet with what joy and greediness has this poor trifle been embraced, as a new discovery dropt from Heaven ; and how confident are we that the Primitive Christians, were no such softly fools (as they have been hitherto represented) as to preach and practise that Sheepish Doctrine of Passive Obedience ? Which only shews how ready some Parties of Men among us are for seizing any pretences for Resistance and Rebellion. Otherwise certainly if Men would Judge impartially, and without Faction, of this mighty work, the whole Mystery of it is no more then this, that an Industrious Searcher into the Records of the Church has at last found out one instance, in which some Christians failed of their Duty to their Prince. A great performance this ! worthy the applause and admiration of this learned Age ; and therefore to deal civilly with it, I care not though I grant the truth of the Assertion, but then I must crave leave to let them know, that this is the only instance of this kind that hap'ned

hap'ned in Eleven hundred years. For that is the thing that I have undertaken to maintain, That from the beginning of Christianity down to the time of Pope Gregory the Seventh, who was the 159th Pope, and succeeded not till the year 1073, no one Christian of the Western Church, no not a Pope, or taught or put in practice the Doctrine of Resistance to Sovereign Princes, or disown'd the duty of Passive Obedience, under the worst of Persecutors, and after this much good may this little Story of Julian do them. For they cannot but see what a mean and foolish design it is to set up one single Tale as a proof of the Sense of the Primitive Christians, when it stands all alone, and is contrary to the declared Sense of the Catholic Church for so many Ages. So that they gain so little advantage to their Cause by this admired Performance, that it proves the most unlucky Argument, that could have been contrived against it. For this is a demonstration to all the World, that there is in all the Records of the Church but one Precedent of Christian disrespect or disobedience to persecuting Princes. And that is but a single exception to its universal practice, and if it be, it confesses its own Enormity from it.

it. So that methinks Men that design'd to preach up Resistance and Rebellion from the Precedents of the Primitive Christians, should rather have taken any other method to abuse the People, then by telling them this single Story of *Julian* : For hereby they are brought to understand that they have no more then one Tale for their Cause, and that if it were true, it is controuled by the universal practice of all Churches in all Ages, and that I think is as much as any reasonable Man can desire to shame and baffle the Assertion.

Especially when it is so evident, that Christians before this time were become in a great measure like other Men, because when Christianity became the Religion of the Empire, and the darling of Princes, all Men would equally embrace it for present Advantage and Preferment. And in these circumstances bad Men will be sure to appear as forward in their Zeal as the best Christians, and generally to outstrip them in outward Appearance. So that if at that time there had been any Christians found guilty of disloyalty towards their Prince, what wonder is it, when such Numbers came into the Church, not for any love of the Religion, but for other ends and designs of their

their own ? And such Men were as effectually loose from all the Obligations of Christianity, as if they had never own'd it. And therefore the true Sense of Christians ought not to be taken from their practice, after it had been the thriving Religion, for then it was made a Trade, but from their Professions in such times, when they had no other Motive to embrace it but it self, for then it is certain that all that did so, were in good earnest. It being then so evident that the Christians through all Ages down to *Constantine* profess'd and practiced the duty of Non-resistance, or Passive Obedience to all Princes, without reserves and exceptions, as an indispensable Law of their Religion, that is a clear, full, and unanswerable declaration of the Sense of the Primitive Church in this matter, however any might fall into a contrary behaviour in times of ease and prosperity. For then it is impossible but that there would be many in the Church, that were not of it, as we have shewn above from the complaint of *Eusebius* and others, how the Credulity of *Constantine* was abused by pretended Converts, to the great dishonour of his Government, and Oppression of his People. And yet I think no Man could think it reasonable

to upbraid Christianity with their Scandals, and if *Julian* found multitudes of such Men in the Church, when he came to the Empire, what wonder would it be if Men that were in reality no Christians, made any unchristian Attempts against him? So that granting our Apostates the truth of their Plea, from the behaviour of Christians towards *Julian*, this one thing utterly bars their Conclusion, that this was the avowed practice of Christians at that time, when at the time that he came to the Empire, there were as many in the Church, that were not, as that were Christians. But because it is to be supposed that the Counterfeits fell off with the Apostate; I will allow the Plea, that if the Christians who persevered in the Faith, committed any of those disloyal and Seditious pranks, that the Apostates charge upon them, that then the blame shall lye at the Church door. And yet so as not to make a Precedent for imitation, because it is a single Enormity both from the plain Laws of the Religion, and the universal Practice of all its Professors, and after that it is a very impertinent way of arguing to draw any Conclusion from such an Example.

And

And yet secondly as impertinent as it is, it is much more false, for there is not any one instance of any one Christian in all his Reign, that ever made any resistance to any one of his Commands. And then whatever they did beside to affront him, that is nothing to warrant the practice of Resistance, and shews, that in whatsoever hatred and contempt they held his Person, yet notwithstanding that, they thought themselves bound in duty to an entire Submission to his Government. And therefore of their ill manners, and uncourtly behaviour towards him, I shall discourse by it self, because that concerns not the Argument of Resistance, and shall at present only shew that they were so far from putting any such design in practice, that they all expressly disclaimed and desed it, as utterly inconsistent with the Principles of their Religion; and then I wonder what our new Apostates can gain by minding us of the *Julian* Christians. And if their case was particular, in that they had the Laws on their side (as 'tis falsely and ignorantly pretended) and yet for all that taught the same Doctrine of Submission and Passive Obedience under him, and that upon the same unalterable Principle, as they did under all their

their former Persecutions, that will be the greatest demonstration of the universality of their Doctrine, and set it above all manner of exception upon any pretence whatsoever.

The Apostates first fury was vented among the military Men, Men that from the very nature of their Profession are most apt to resent and revenge Injuries: and though he provoked them more by the Contempt and Indignity of his Persecution, then by its Severity, yet they would rather swallow and digest an Affront, the hardest Point in the World to a Soldier, then repulse it with the least rudeness, much less violence to their Sovereign Lord. And first he caused the Images of the Heathen Deities to be engraven with his own, that were set, as the Emperors Statues were wont to be, in publick Places; that if the People shewed the usual Honor to his Statue, they might be supposed to worship the Idols; and if for the Idols sake they should refuse to take notice of his Image, he might punish them for breach of old Customs and Roman Laws in doing honour to the Imperial Majesty.

And that was another peculiar Enhancement of his Persecution, never to punish the Christians as Christians, but

as

as Criminals, and to the old Cruelties of Persecution to add this new one of Calumny, first martyr their Innocence, and then themselves. And though by this little device he deceived some into shews of respect to his Deities, yet the wiser easily seeing through so slight a design, refused to give any Signs of Honor, and so by their Example soon put an end to the little Stratagem; and yet neither they that were cheated into the Folly, nor they that were fraudulently punished for withstanding it, made any other resistance to his Commands, or shewed any other disrespect to his Person. His next Stratagem was somewhat more fine then this: It was an old Custom among the *Romans*, for the Emperors on their own Birth-days, or other Holy days, to give Donatives to their Soldiers, and this *Julian* does, but so orders it, that near his Throne where he sat, was placed a Fire with Incense, some of which the simple Soldiers were told, as they came to receive their Donative, by some that were set there for that purpose, they were bound by ancient Custom to sprinkle in to the Fire. And so, great numbers were ignorantly drawn in to offer his kind of Sacrifice, but coming afterward to understand the Cheat, they run up and down

down the Streets and Market-places crying out, That they are Christians and ever were so, that they were over-reacht and meerly drawn in it, and they had sacrificed with their Hands, they had not with their Hearts, and so they address to the Emperor in a Body, and request him to take his Gold again, and if he pleased, to put them to death, for they were resolved never to renounce their Religion, but were ready to lay down their Lives for it. To this Relation *Theodoret* adds, That the Emperor immediately commanded them to be beheaded, and they were conveyed out of the City to the place of Execution, whither they went with extraordinary courage and cheerfulness, requesting the Heads-man to dispatch the youngest first, lest by beholding the bloody Execution of others, his courage might faint, and so one *Romanus* is first prepared, and his head laid upon the Block, but just before the blow was to be given, a Messenger from the Emperor cries out at a great distance to stop it; at which the young man sighing says, *Romanus* was not thought worthy to be a Martyr of Christ. I conceive this is as high an Example of Passive Obedience, as any we have upon Record in all the former Persecutions,

secutions, and indeed exceeds that of the *Theban* Legion, for they were only decimated at first, and so the greatest part were sure to escape, but here the whole Body submit themselves one and all to the Ax of the Executioner, without speaking an angry or a reproachful word against the Emperor. And for this very act of Christian Loyalty they are particularly commended by *St. Austin*. And yet these very Men (one would scarce believe it) are produced as one of the most remarkable instances of the ill-behaviour of the Christians towards *Julian*.

His next attempt was at *Constantinople*, to reform his own Prætorian Bands, where he Disbands all Officers that refuse to sacrifice in the Temple of Fortune, upon which *Valentinian* and *Valens* two of his chief Commanders, and divers others peaceably laid down their Arms, declaring themselves not only ready to part with their Swords, but their Lives for their Religion. And to these *Socrates* adds *Jovian*, though I doubt ^{Soz. l. 5} that is a mistake, he being his General ^{c. 4} in his Army against the *Persians*.

In the next place finding all the old Temples at *Cæsarea*, the Metropolis of *Cappadocia*, decayed and demolisht, and almost

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In the next place finding all the old Temples at *Cæsarea*, the Metropolis of *Cappadocia*, decayed and demolished, and almost

disgraceful punishment (says *Palladius*) he endured with all patience and returned thanks to the Emperor for the honour, as he had it from his own mouth. But whatever his Persecution was against their Persons, it was much more then all others against their Religion, for beside those perpetual shams that he put upon it to make it ridiculous ; he dugg at the Foundations by rooting up the Clergy, that so the People having no Publick Assemblies for Divine Worship, they might in time grow barbarous and lose their Religion. And his pretence against them was their raising Seditions. And thus he banisht *Seleustus* and his Clergy from *Cyzicum*, because the Christians were so numerous in the City, that it was in vain to attempt reducing them any other way. And so he commanded the Magistrates of *Bosstra* to expel *Titus* their Bishop, and threatned, that if the People made any Sedition, he would lay the blame and the punishment of it upon the Bishop and his Clergy ; upon this *Titus* presents him an humble Address, shewing that though the Christians were an overmatch for the Heathens, yet he need not fear any Tumult from them, because he knew that they would follow his Exhortations to

to Peace and Patience. Upon this the Apostate spitefully and childishly writes to the People to instigate them against their Bishop for slandering their Loyalty, as if they were not peaceable of their own accord, but were only wheedled into it by his Wit and Eloquence. To such mean and dirty Arts did his malice stoop by any ways to do mischief : but yet instead of provoking them to any disturbance by all his abuses, we find nothing else preached even at this time then the old superannuated and unreasonable Doctrine of Passive Obedience. The Apostate's last pranks against the Christians were plaid at *Antioch*, the great Scene of his shame and folly. Hither at his first coming *Artemius* an old Commander under *Constantine*, and who for his good Services had obtain'd a good Government in *Aegypt* under *Constantinus*, is sent for by the Emperor, under pretence of serving in the *Persian* Expedition, but when he comes he is suddenly put to death upon pretence of Treason ; though the real Crime was, that he had been the chief Agent under the Christian Emperors in the destruction of Idols. *Artemius* is followed by the two famous Captains *Juventinus* and *Maximus*, who bemoaning the Restitution of Idolatry,

Theod. lib. 3. c. 17.

are by the Emperor cast into Prison upon the sham of Treason, where divers attempts are made upon them to betray their Religion, but all in vain, their constant answer is, That they are always ready to lay down their Lives but never their Religion, and so at length they are privately beheaded. This is all the harm that we know of them, and yet they are exhibited to the World among that Pack of *Julian* Christians, that pursued their Prince, as if he were a midnight Thief, or an High-way-Robber. The next Set of bloody Conspirators against the Apostate's life, were *Abbaß Publia* and her Quire of Virgins, that persisted to sing Anthems against Idolatry, at such times as his Majesty passed by their Chappel, at which he was at last so enraged, that he very honourably commanded one of his Souldiers to beat the old Woman that was Mistress of the Quire, so that he made her nose bleed. Which contumelious Usage (says the Historian) she received as the highest honour, as the Apostles did, when they were beaten too, that they were accounted worthy to suffer shame for Christ. And therefore the old Woman and her Maids were so far from pursuing him as a Thief and a Robber, that they did not so much as

return

return him any warm Language. These are all the instances of Rebellion against the Apostate that I know of, unless we may add that very credible Romance of an old decrepit Bishop, threatening to kick the Emperor in the head of his Prætorian Bands, at which the great Soldier that had fought so many Battels, was so scared, that he was forced to betake himself to his Heels. These are all those numberless Instances, in the great variety whereof a man may almost lose himself, which may be given of the Christians hatred and contempt of *Julian* when he was Emperor. How they reproached him and his Religion to his very beard; beat his Priests before his face, and had done him too, if he had not got out of the way. But whatever becomes of all the other Outrages, there is no other instance of the danger of his own being beaten, but by this old man that had lost the use of his Limbs, who yet it seems would have kick't him before his own Guards, had he not run away. Any Passive Obedience, how sneaking soever, would have been much more Manly and Heroick, then to kick one that was so great a Coward, that in the head of his Troops, had not courage enough to stand the brunt against the im-

Q q 2

potent

potent fury of Fourscore and Ten.

But what shall we say to the other objection, That if the old Bishops did not beat him, yet the young Divines jear'd him, gave him Nick-names, and Lampoon'd him to his beard ? This I must confess is a great fault to offer any indignity to the Person of a Sovereign Prince, and reflects scorn and contempt upon his Government : But yet I hope there is some distance between breaking an indiscreet jest, and breaking out into open Rebellion. For that is our design to prove, that in the days of *Julian*, the Doctrine and Duty of Passive Obedience was out of doors, and that the Christians, who would have quietly submitted to the Laws under a *Nero* or a *Dio-clesian*, pursued *Julian* as a midnight Thief, or an High-way Robber. That is, plainly, that they thought it Lawful to resist and pursue him by force, and that I think is Rebellion ; though indeed there was no need of such broad Expressions, as of hunting a Thief or a Robber ; for if the obligation to Passive Obedience be once taken off, active Resistance immediately takes place, and that again is actual Rebellion. Now what a strange leap in arguing is this, from a jest upon a Princes Beard, to raise an Army to cut his

his Throat ? For that is the inference here, to prove that the Christians in his time thought it Lawful to resist, and rebel against his Government, because they Lampoon'd his Whiskers. . But certainly men must have a very sharp stomach to Rebellion, that can encourage themselves to fall on upon such slender Invitations.

But to state the matter aright between the Imperial Beard, and its sawcy Subjects ; if it met with any rough and uncivil usage, it may thank its Owner for it, who indeed brought that rude treatment into fashion by Lampooning all his Predecessors. And if Princes will condescend so low as to write Libels themselves, they must pardon the Poets if they give them as good as they bring, for there is no King of Wit. And therefore this Pedantick Prince putting himself upon such an equal Level with his Subjects, by vying Wit or rather Buffoonry with them, which no Prince beside himself ever did, it can scarce amount to an act of Treason if they made so bold with his Beard. And the truth of it is, his Beard was so very singular and remarkable, that no Stoick could well pass it by without a fling at it, for it was the very Comet of a Beard upon a Boys face,

V. Baron.
Anno 362.
N. 27.

Lih. 17. c.
xi.

and that alone was a very provoking and ridiculous sight. * And let but the Reader peruse his Coins, especially that in which his young self is drawn with the old Goddes *Serapis*, and then I may challenge him to forbear smiling if he can. And long before this Beard was assaulted by the ill-bred *Antiochian* Citizens, it had been Canonised, when he was much younger, in the Court of *Constantius*, where, as *Ammianus Marcellinus* his Panegyrist informs us, he was Nick-named the Goat for his long Beard, and not only so, but a pratling Mole, a Monkey in Purple, a Greek Pedant. All which the Historian imputes to their Envy of his great Glory, and parallels his Case with *Cimons*, that Envy accused of Luxury, and with *Scipio's* that it charged with too much love of Ease, and with *Pompey's*, that was blamed for too much neatness. These are little defects incident to great Men, that their spiteful Enemies might take advantage of to Eclipse the Glory of their Vertue, with the Rabble, but as for these Pedantick Affectations, for which *Julian* was so highly despised, they could not be incident to any Man, that was not a remarkable Fopp.

But beside all this, we must consider
to

to what sort of Men the *Antiochian* Provocation was given, and that was to the Poets, by his discountenancing and discouraging the Play-Houses, by which they were undone, and they are a sort of men, whose Wit ought to be allowed some indulgence of Revenge upon their Enemies, especially when he sharpened the Provocation by keeping them hungry as well as poor, having occasion'd a great scarcity of Provisions in the City by an imprudent Edict. Now laying all these things together, the Royal Beard had no such great reason to complain, considering how much its Owner exposed both it and himself, of so much hard usage, as if it had been pursued like a midnight Thief, or an High-way Robber. But after all, it does not appear that these Libellers were Christians, *Julian* indeed upbraids them, that their City was over-run with the *Galilæan* Superstition, that had wrought too great an indifferency for the Worship of the Gods, and that for the sake of *Constantius* their great Benefactor and Patron, they had too much kindness for, or rather too little zeal against the Religion. But that the Libellers were Heathens is very probable from the cause of the quarrel; the chief ground, whereof was his discouraging of the Plays,

of which the Christians of those times were so far from being very fond, that it was accounted no less than Idolatry to frequent them, because their Scenes were really nothing else then representations of the old Heathen Impieties.

But yet beside the singularity of the Beard it self, it was made somewhat more ridiculous, and contemptible by the humour of the man that wore it, who in a word was the very *Hudibras* of his Age. And, as himself tells us, the singularity of his humour was the thing that made him the common Laughing-Stock to the *Antiochians*.

Μηρορος.
p. 69.

Και τὸ μέγιστον τῶν
κακῶν, ὅτι πῶτον
ζῶν βίον εὐφραδίην, καὶ
πεποιήσται τὰς κοινὰς
κατασκευὰς ἡδονῶν, &c.

He was by nature a great Pedant, wholly master'd by vanity and ostentation, that lay at the bottom of all his

designs and actions. And wherever that is it turns all other perfections into ridicule and folly. And this vanity of mind was so very visible in the features and motions of his Body, that *Gregory Nazianzen* says he made a right guess what he would prove, when he saw him a young Student at *Athens*: 'By his dancing Shoulders, his wild and wandering Eye, his shuffling and restless feet, his con-

Orat. 4ta.
p. 122.

continual Grinning, and abusive Conversation, the variety of his Looks, and sudden alterations of his Countenance, nodding this way, and in the same moment that way, and that at nothing, asking impertinent Questions without staying for any Answer: with a great number more of indecencies of behaviour, that plainly betrayed an odd Constitution of Nature.

And this natural lightness was very well improved by a careful Education, he was thoroughly instructed in all the Greek Pedantry, he had upon every occasion a Verse out of *Hesiod* or *Homer*, he could not so much as muster his Soldiers without dispersing amongst them some Apothegms out of *Plato* or *Aristotle*. But the most apish Deformity in him, was his ill favour'd Imitation of great Men, and therefore *Ammianus Marcellinus*, when he conjures up all the Powers of his indifferent Wit (as he is pleased to complement with himself) begins his Panegyrick with as awkerd a Satyr, as a spiteful Enemy could well have contrived, by comparing him to *Titus*, to *Trajan*, to the *Antonines*, but especially to *M. Aurelius*, whom he chiefly endeavoured to imitate in all his Actions, and for the truth of that we may take

Lib. 16.
c. 1.

take *Julian's* own Word, for in an Epistle to *Themistius* he declares himself Rival to *Alexander* the Great for Courage, and to *M. Aurelius* for Vertue; so that by equalling both in their several Perfections, he might exceed both in real Worth and Greatness. And he was so apish in his imitation of *Alexander*, that he spent all his Nights in the same hardship that the old Romantick Historians say he spent his, one third part in Sleep, another in Business, and a third in Study, which continual watchfulness added to the natural warmth of his Brain must unavoidably heat it into ridiculous frenzies, and make every passage of his Life very phantastick and affected. Now when such a Pigme and Pedant as *Julian* was, would swell and strut and look big, and really believe himself of equal Bulk to the greatest Gyants, and affect to make every Step he takes as large as theirs, it must be a sight so comical and pleasant, as could not but work through the dullest Spleen of the Spectators. And this, as *Ammianus Marcellinus* himself reports it, was one thing that made the *Antiochians* merry. *Ridebatur ut Circops, homo brevis, humeros extantans angustos, & barbam præ se ferens hircinam, grandiaque incedens tanquam*

Oti

Oti frater & Ephialtis; quorum proceritatem Homerus in immensum tollit. In short, his whole Life was nothing but Vanity and Affectation, he imposed upon himself the hardships of the old Law-makers, he eat by the Laws of *Lycurgus*, and the Sayings of old *Cato*, he would never be induced to a second Marriage out of fondness to a saying of *Plato*, nor cared to have his Exchequer full, for meer love of that Sentence of *Alexander*, That he cared for no other Treasury then what was laid up in the Bosom of his Friends. His vices as they are set down by *Ammianus Marcellinus* Lib. 25. cap. 4. himself, are such odd and uncouth defects, as could not but pervert and spoil the greatest vertues, viz. ' That he was ' of a light wit, and was so sensible of ' it himself, that he desired his friends ' to watch him when he run into any ' indecency; of a loose Tongue, and ' scarce ever silent; much addicted to ' Prophecies, unmeasurably Superstitious, ' sacrificing Beasts without end or number, greedy of the Applauses of the ' Rabble, an insatiable hunter of praise ' from the smallest matters, and out of ' meer desire of Popularity, would make ' himself cheap and familiar with the ' meanest of the People. After this description of him, whatever good qualities

ties he might have beside, must be ridiculous. Thus whereas he admires him for his Clemency, his affectation of it was so awkward and preposterous, that he would let the most barbarous Crimes go unpunished for the glory of it, in so much that when the Parents of a ravish'd Maid complain'd to him of the injury, though by Law the punishment was death, he dismissed the Offender without any Penalty ; upon which the Parents complaining of it as a dishonour to their Family, let the Laws (says he) find fault with Clemency, it becomes a Courteous Emperor to be more civil than the Laws. This foolish action is the only instance that the Historian gives of this vertue in him. And whereas he was a great pretender to Philosophick patience, there was never any Man so Extravagant and intemperate in his passion, as 'tis described by *Gregory Nazianzen*. ' Is not this highly commendable in our Philosopher, that he was so free from passion, and so far above the Turbulent Motions of the Mind, like those famous Princes of former times, who were renown'd for the greatness of their Temper, that whatever befell them, never changed their countenance, or shew'd the least appearance of disturbance, that when he fate in

Judg.

*Orat. 4ta.
pag. 121.*

Judgment, he fill'd the Court with his own noise and clamour, and was outrageous in his passion beyond all expression. Who knows not that when even poor Peasants, that publickly made their Addresses to him, to ask such things as Men are wont to beg of the Emperor, that he was wont in a violent manner to fall upon them, beat them with his fist, and kick them, and they were glad if they could scape so ?

But the greatest subject for contempt of him was his immense Superstition, which in a Learned Philosopher we may suppose much more ridiculous than in an old woman, the description of it in *Am-
mianus Marcellinus* is very pleasant, *lib. 22. cap. 12.* beside several other strange Stories of his *Euthusiasms*, to which *Gregory Nazianzen* is so kind as to impute all his madness, and it is certain that he was so hot-headed as to pretend to Visions and Correspondence with the Gods, and I doubt not but he believed himself. When he took upon him the Title of *Augustus*, i. e. when he Rebelled against *Constantius*, he had a Vision of the Publick Genius, that Commanded him to do it against his own Inclinations, and when he went with his Army towards *Rome*, he had at *Vienna* another

*Am. Mar-
cel. lib. 20.
cap. 5.*

*Idem lib.
21. cap. 24.*

Vision

Orat. ad-
versus Gen-
tes.

Vision from all his Puppet Gods to assure him of success. But to forbear the endless Catalogue of his Follies, I shall only set down an Account of one of his Pious Processions at *Antioch*, as it is described by *St. Chrysostom*, who was an Eye-witness of it. 'He Published an Edict through the whole Empire, that the Idol-Temples and Altars should be Rebuilt, the ancient Worship given to the *Dæmons*, and great Revenues settled for its maintenance, upon which Edict immediately the Magicians, the Incanters, the Augurs, the Diviners, the Conjurers, the Tavern *Hocus-pocus* Men repaired from all parts of the World. And here might you behold the Court replenish'd with the most infamous, profligate, and vagabond Persons; for all that were ready to starve for Bread, all that were Convicted of Villany, all that were condemned to the publick Prisons, and the Mines, all the mean People that could not live upon their Trades, immediately professed themselves Heathen Priests, and you cannot imagine in what honour and esteem they were held by his Imperial Majesty. He despised the great Commanders and Generals of his Army in comparison of these poor jugling Cheats. He made solemn Processions through the City with a

route

route of Bawds, and Carted Whores, and whilst his Royal Guard, and Prætorian Bands kept their distance, this wretched rout of Infamous Cattle, Pimps, Bawds, Harlots, Sodomites, encompass'd his Majesty in his Passage through the *Forum*, venting all the way such mirth and discourse, as became such an Holy Rabble. A matter of Fact (says he) so absurd and ridiculous in it self, that I know cannot but seem incredible to Posterity. Neither indeed is it possible that any private Person, that was bound to any sense of shame or modesty, could appear in publick in such a foul and indecent action. And yet I hope there is no need of appealing to the Testimony of this Age for the truth of it, for there are many that were Spectators, who know, and can and will attest the Truth of my Report, and for that reason I publish it to the Witnesses that are yet alive, lest Posterity should suspect my fidelity in telling such an Extravagant Story. And therefore I conjure all, both young and old, that were Eye-witnesses of it as well as my self, that if I have made the least addition to the foppery, they would publicly shame and convince me of it, &c.

Now after all this Evidence and Demonstration of folly can any Man be so hard-

hard-hearted as to impose such a rigid severity upon the pleasant Gentlemen of *Antioch*, as not to enjoy some mirth from so much folly : Nay, though they were Christians, that did not keep their Gravity as they were wont to do, they were to be indulged in their sport, though it were for nothing else then the great pleasure and satisfaction that they must take, in seeing the greatest Enemy to their Religion, the greatest fool in the World. But however if they jear'd him they did no more, and therefore from their breaking jests upon himself, his Beard, and his Superstition ; to infer the Lawfulness of making assaults upon his Government, only proves what an aking Tooth some Men have to be at their own Conclusion, but I hope by this time it is drawn out : And now having thus far brought down the contrary both Doctrine and Practice of the Christian Church from its first beginning to the end of this Reign, through all Varieties and Vicissitudes of condition, I shall at present here break off, because it is enough for its own Demonstration. Though if it please God to send me life and health, and if my Superiours think the Work worth encouragement and acceptance, I shall trace it down through the following Ages.

F I N I S.